THE 'PEACE MOVEMENT' A CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

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JUNE 29, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

THE GOP and the John Birch Society

NEAL FREEMAN

HOW TO HELP AFRICA-- Export Capitalism

PETER BAUER

Also In This Issue:

A FILIPINO LOOKS AT THE IMAGE OF LBJ ♦ KIRK ON THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO MODERATES ♦ GELTMAN ON JEWS & AMERICANS ♦ KENNER ON FLESCH'S STYLEBOOK ♦ ALSO G. F. ELIOT, HARRIGAN, BURNHAM

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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 45 Gracey St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). © National Review, Inc. 1965. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

→ Professor **Peter Bauer** of the London School of Economics (where he holds forth on the economics of development) describes, in fascinating detail, the things that have been done so far in certain African economies, and the things that need doing, first of which is a good deal more freedom. Prof. Bauer is the author of many articles and books, and an expanded version of this essay is available in hard cover (*The African Nettle*, edited by *NR*'s Frank S. Meyer: New York, John Day, 1965). . . . A very knowing gentleman of the Philippines, who uses the pen name **Quijano de Manila,** observes a shift in the American psyche, away from the Kennedy excitement, back to the superstuffed comfort of a notably developed economy. . . . The great traveler and journalist, **Anthony Harrigan** of the *Charleston* (S.C.) *News and Courier,* has been to Japan, whence he favors us with a report on Japan's development. Economically it is fine, thank you; politically it could do without its leftists, and identify its survival plans with those of the U.S.A. . . . Our associate **Neal Freeman** gives the gory facts on the vicious campaign waged by Lester Wolff, successfully, against Congressman Steve Derounian, who is down as of '64 but definitely not out.

→ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** discharges his self-imposed obligation to visit the moral slag-heap named Adam Clayton Powell Jr. at least once yearly. . . . That big gooey abstraction called Peace is anaesthetized and dissected by **James Burnham,** who finds it to be infected, more seriously than many an earnest pacifist might suspect, with the bug of social revolution, and the surprising possibility of a really serious rift among the Liberals. . . . **Russell Kirk** investigates one of the groups made victims of the civil rights front of the social revolution: the temperate and conscientious professors and clergymen who happen to be colored. Eloquently he notes that it is not the headline-hunters who will help in the work of conciliation, but those others, the unknown, the quiet, the industrious.

→ The renowned **Maj. George Fielding Eliot** reviews a concise study of the meaning of WW I. That conflict marked the end of many of the good things of the West, as wasn't it Lord Grey who said the lights were going out all over Europe?—but not the end of the making of good books. This one earns a bravo from an expert. . . . Mr. **Max Geltman** will be remembered as the author of a catalytic article on the critics of Hannah Arendt. Now he digs into *Jews and Americans,* by Irving Malin, and comes up with a cure for the parthenogenic condition fashionably called "alienation." He says, Get With It. . . . Rudolf Flesch, who makes a living by reducing the English language to Unspeak, gets his latest ABC parsed by the master himself, or herself, Doreen **Hugh** Hucklesmudge **Kenner.** . . . And **Priscilla Buckley** didn't lose it at the theater. Her sense of humor survived a visit to *Baker Street,* a musical gloss of Sherlock Holmes without benefit of words or music, and a visit to *Flora, the Red Menace,* a second case of Broadway catatonia which does, however, twitch into life once in a while thanks to Judy Garland Jr.—the wry and popeyed Liza Minnelli. But a collection of Cole Porter's parerga, flourishing off-Broadway, was enchanting. →

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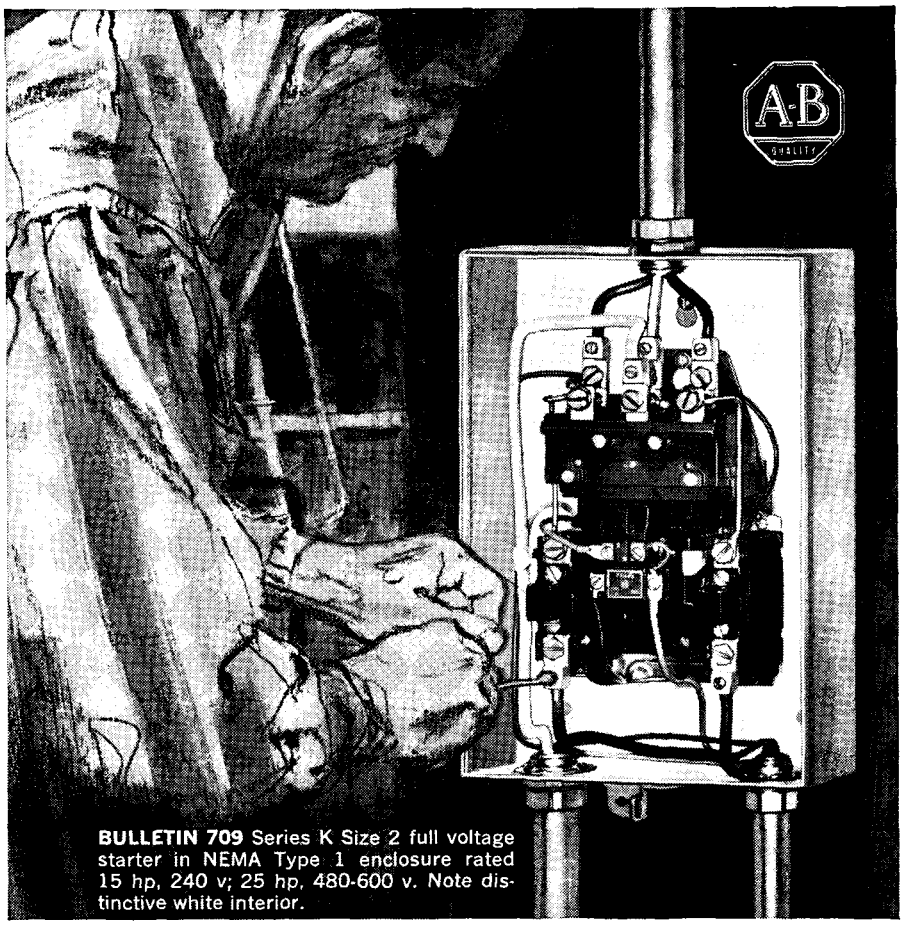

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TO THE EDITOR

Hoosier Friend

The June 15 "Focus on Washington" column contains a factual error in reference to former Senator William E. Jenner, a Republican of Indiana. The column identifies Jenner as one of those "tumbled out of office" by the right-to-work issue, implying that Jenner, like the other conservatives mentioned with him, was defeated in a bid for election. In point of fact, Jenner was not "tumbled out of office"; he voluntarily resigned his seat in 1958, and did not run for re-election. The Republican candidate for his post in that year was Governor Harold Handley, who lost the November election to Democrat Vance Hartke. I would not rush to correct this slip of the typewriter were it not for the fact that last year columnist Joseph Alsop also incorrectly informed his readers that Jenner had been defeated. The cumulative effect of such allusions could be a rewriting of Indiana political history to the detriment of a prominent Hoosier conservative.

Indianapolis, Ind. M. STANTON EVANS

On and Up

Talk about *crescendo,* I've rarely followed so steep a rise as the "dem nuts, dem bolts" paragraph executed in the June 15 issue. For me, *The 1812 Overture* is dead.

Never give up.

New York, N.Y. W. H. VON DREELE

Hazlitt on Veritas

For the first time I feel compelled to disagree completely with an article in *NR*: "Confusion, Not Conspiracy" by Henry Hazlitt in the June 1 issue. *Keynes at Harvard* divides people and classifies them as either Communists or Communist "dupes"; but Hazlitt argues that the latter are not dupes but only people who are "misinformed, superficial, or sincerely confused," which is exactly what a "dupe" is, within any meaning of the word of which I am aware.

Delray Beach, Calif. WYLIE C. SAMPSON

Henry Hazlitt in reviewing *The Great Deceit — Social Pseudo-Sciences,* published by the Veritas Foundation, exhibits to an unusual degree the qualities of the gentleman and the scholar. To a greater extent, perhaps, than most of his readers would understand.

The preservation throughout the years by Mr. Hazlitt of a benevolent attitude towards "socialists" is truly remarkable. He has pursued the policy of subjecting socialist arguments to patient analysis and endeavored to convert socialists

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by assuming their good faith, more persistently than most economists. As for his analysis of Keynesian doctrines, no one, at home or abroad, can equal Hazlitt's monumental work *The Failure of the New Economics*. Ironically, however, although the socialists have had over five years in which to work themselves out of their confusion in the light of Hazlitt's lucid analyses, the record is not replete with any important conversions among the hard-core veterans. When John Kenneth Galbraith was given extensive space by *The New York Times Book Review* (May 16, 1965) to extol the merits of Keynes' theories under the guise of a review of Keynes' work which appeared nearly 30 years ago, Galbraith did not even deign to mention Hazlitt's work or, in fact, any economist differing with the Keynes theories other than the reference to the Veritas Foundation with its *Keynes at Harvard*.

One would think after such a long period of being ignored by the elite of the "socialist" world, Mr. Hazlitt might detect something more than confusion and good faith.

New York, N.Y. GEO. S. MONTGOMERY JR.

Congratulations to Henry Hazlitt on his fine article. As a former Liberal who was given *Keynes at Harvard* during my transition period, I must agree that I found much of the material very interesting and enlightening but most of the book severely doused with the "conspiracy everywhere" thesis. As a matter of fact, I can truthfully state that *Keynes at Harvard* and other similarly written books did more to discourage my interest in conservatism than whet it.

Dallas, Tex. GARY A. HOFMEISTER

The Protestant Deformation

I can't begin to express the joy with which I read the Rev. Mr. Brown's analysis of contemporary Protestantism [June 1]. It was the best I have seen.

On two occasions, recently, I attended a "Liberal" Congregational church. The first time, the sermon was based on Christ's encounter with the Samaritan woman at the well. The minister first described the Samaritan as an outcast, the equivalent of a Negro today, and Christ as a Brahmin white. Then he exulted over the fact that the two had a Dialogue. Finally, toward the end, he admitted reluctantly that Christ was talking to the woman about God's love. But the minister's point was clearly the integrationist one, rather than the religious one.

The second occasion was Easter Sunday. This time, in a confused and extremely intellectualized manner, the minister described his version of the Resurrection. As near as I could fathom, he appeared to say that our first encounter with Heaven or Hell starts at birth and continues through life as we learn to be

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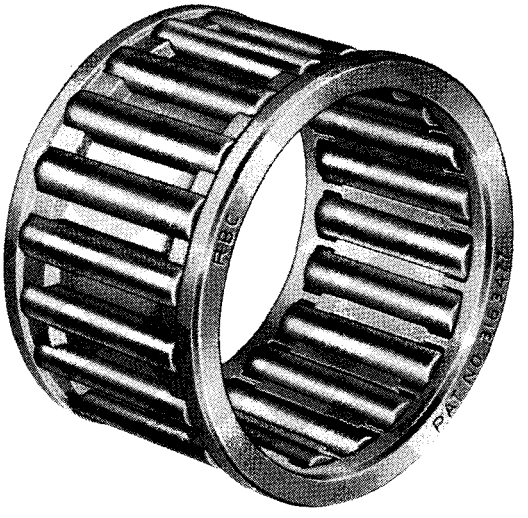

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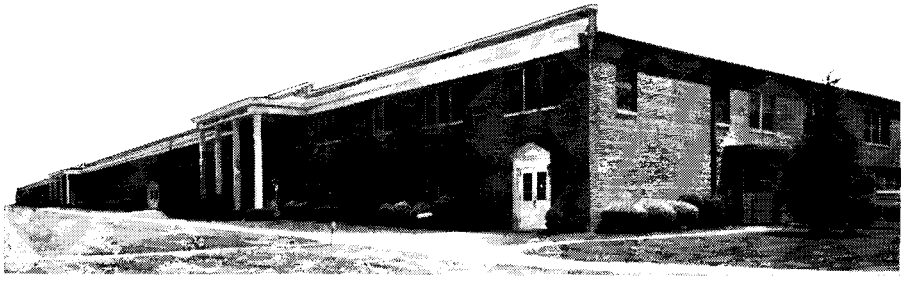

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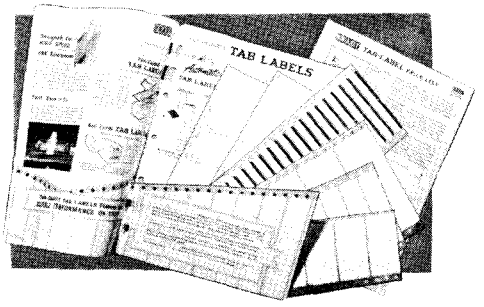

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On the first Sunday, the church was almost empty. On Easter Sunday, it was not even half full.

Oakland, Calif. RICHARD S. WHEELER

Standing Fast

It was tremendously heartening to find Frank Meyer, in your June 1 issue, reminding the faint-hearted so forcefully that there is no way principled conservatives can be reconciled in good conscience to a permanent, expanding system of compulsory social security.

Contrary to what so many have been so loudly saying, when you have suffered a very heavy defeat that is the *worst* time to seek refuge in silence and compromise, for both are then interpreted as outright surrender. Through its own timidity and occasional panic, I believe the conservative movement has lost even more ground since the election of last November than during the campaign. This retreat must stop or there will be nothing left to defend. All honor to Frank Meyer for drawing a new line, bright, hard and firm.

Dallas, Tex. WARREN H. CARROLL

Kirk on Illiteracy

I've been a NATIONAL REVIEW subscriber for some time now and, being a teacher, have always read Professor Kirk's articles with interest. In your June 1 issue he seemed to be speaking directly to me.

I showed his plea for phonics to my colleagues in the reading department of the St. Petersburg Job Corps Center for Women. Much of it met with agreement

(Continued on p. 565)

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The WEEK

● John Lindsay, campaigning for mayor of New York, stopped by a synagogue for a bit of oldtime religion and incidentally danced a trick or two of the hora. In the interest of civil rights and equality before the law he owes us two tarantellas, a County Kerry jig, and a nice low limbo. But he better hurry. It's almost time for his limousine to turn into a pumpkin.

● Chairman William McC. Martin of the Federal Reserve Board gave a speech in which he pointed to several disturbing similarities between 1965 and 1929. Shortly thereafter he was summoned to the White House, whence the President in due course issued the statement that the economy was in good health and stock prices were not unreasonable. Which, come to think of it, was still another echo of 1929.

● IN CASE YOU DIDN'T READ ABOUT IT DEPT: Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) returned from a long Far Eastern tour to declare that the great majority of Asian peoples and their leaders support U.S. Vietnam policy (*New York Times,* June 11) . . . Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy shook up the doves at Harvard by announcing there June 14 that support of LBJ's foreign policy is far wider than campus critics think (*Times,* June 15) . . . On June 10, Uruguay withdrew her representative from the UN Security Council in disapproval of his denunciation of U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. The Western Governors Conference adopted a resolution supporting LBJ's conduct of foreign policy . . . On June 14 *Times'* Washington Bureau Chief Tom Wicker catalogued criticisms of LBJ and his policies but admitted that, despite groans from the academy, a solid majority of the public supports escalation in Vietnam and intervention in the Dominican Republic. Wicker also noted overriding support by major corporations, labor union leaders, and the citizens of Miami, Fla. . . . Joseph Alsop (June 11) noted increasing support for Johnson, observing that LBJ's foreign policies are backed by a majority in the House and by 90 of the 100 senators. And so it goes . . . Juanita Castro, sister of Fidel, in testifying recently before a HUAC subcommittee, praised "the firm and brave action of the United States and their President, who have faced the Communist challenge, putting a stop to its advance." "The Vietnamese and the Dominican people," she said, "and the Cuban people as well, are grateful for the life-saving action taken in Vietnam and Santo Domingo."

● Labor's Harold Wilson seems to have got things moving again: Bank rates, backlash, wigs, West Indians, prices, taxes, and homosexuals are up; productivity, the pound sterling, native brainpower, and bridge players are down, and out. One thing that wasn't moving last week was Labor's race-relations bill, an antimacassar version of our own streamlined, punitive Civil Rights Act of 1964. Even so, Labor blinked through the blighting winds of change, and took a tentative step toward common sense: the bill's machinery for criminal prosecution was retooled to put emphasis on local discussion, and the search for a modus vivendi with Britain's "Dark Million."

● Dr. Clare E. Griffin, Professor Emeritus of the School of Business Administration at the *University* of Michigan, has brought out a fine study, *The Free Society,* concerned with the effects of governmental regulation. Said effects, he concludes, are untoward: "The regulated first tolerate and then embrace the limitations of their own freedom. Who then is left to resist the trend? Not the consumers, for the only protection they know is the regulating commission. Not the companies, for regulation does for them what the Sherman Act would prohibit if attempted by themselves." Published by American Enterprise Institute, 1200 17th Street NW, Washington, D.C.

● Senior Republican Liberals butted in last week at the biennial convention of the Young Republican National Federation in Miami Beach and attempted to liberalize the staunchly conservative group. In a major address to the convention on June 15, Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss gently urged the 2,500 delegates and guests to be more "tolerant of the deeply held views of others." Bliss went on to advise Young Republican clubs to enlist members from every creed, color, and economic level in order to "reflect the community as a whole." But that was nothing. To capture urban minority support, said Cornelius P. Cotter of Wichita University and former aide to the Republican National Committee, "Republicans must learn to speak with an equivocal voice." (We don't know what that means, but we aren't professors.) He made the statement in a seminar arranged by Jerry Dickson, chairman of the college division of the Young Republicans, designed to "broaden the thinking" of YRs. Mr. Cotter went on to suggest Republicans in labor areas support repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but his idea fell flat. Walter DeVries, executive assistant to Michigan's George Romney, scolded delegates for their "absurd" complaints about the press, and Carl D. McMurray of Florida State University summarized the entire session by asking what good it does you to be right if you just keep losing elections. He did not ask what good it does you to win them if you are wrong.

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● Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach's testimony before a congressional committee in support of Sen. Dodd's pending firearms control legislation contained the statement that 65.9 per cent of 1964 homicides in Phoenix were committed with firearms. This drew an immediate retort from Arizona's Senator Paul Fannin: 65.9 per cent is 6.4 homicides by firearm per 100,000 population for Phoenix as compared with 6.7 for Chicago, 10.1 for Dallas and 5.2 for New York City. Since the difference between New York and Phoenix is only about one per 100,000 population, and since New York has the most restrictive firearms laws in the United States in contrast with Phoenix which has none, the figures shoot down Sen. Dodd's contention that anti-gun laws restrain homicides. Sen. Fannin warned that they do, however, restrain 50 million gun-owning Americans who are honest and law-abiding citizens.

● Africa's most promising start towards overcoming the super-Balkanization that has been the byproduct of uhuru collapsed this month under the mounting pressure of the wind from the East. Britain had bequeathed to her three East African offspring—Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika—the working structure of a common market with a unified system of money and banking and of postal, telephone and other essential services. Political unification, with all its progressive possibilities, seemed a small step away. But on June 10 Paul Bomani, Finance Minister of Tanzania (Tanganyika plus Zanzibar), which has been swinging phase by phase into the Chinese orbit, announced that the monetary and banking union would be broken up—inevitably the preface to a general breakup of the common market structure. (New currency had, it turned out, already been printed.) Chou En-lai, Communist China's premier, visiting in Tanzania, had denounced the tri-nation system in a speech delivered three days earlier, explaining that when Britain's policy of "divide and rule" failed, it shifted to "merge and rule." "Just as a fish's eye cannot pass for a pearl," he concluded, "such unions created by the imperialists have been seen through and will continue to be seen through."

● June 14, 1965 was the 25th anniversary of the invasion of the independent Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by the Red Army, under the cover of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the non-aggression treaties that Moscow had solemnly signed with each of the victims. The Red Army is still there, the three nations forcibly transformed into Soviet Republics, and the native citizens—such of them as survive after the years of mass deportation, purge and exile—still captive under a foreign and totalitarian despotism. Let us record with contempt that not one voice in the assemblies of that United Nations which parades itself as the mother of decolonization and fountainhead of self-determination for all nations and peoples, was raised to mark the crushing of Baltic freedom.

● On its name day, the 14th of June Movement staged a major rally in the rebel-held sector of Santo Domingo. Colonel Caamaño Deñó, the rebels' front man, gave a nondescript speech. The Castroite chiefs of the movement then took over, and the crowd chanted revolutionary and anti-American slogans as the speakers denounced all compromise and shouted that "the only road to victory for the people is the gun." As the American political representatives followed orders to seek the will-o'-the-wisp of a "third force" compromise government excluding both the Junta and the rebel leaders, tactical facts forced the OAS troops into exchange of fire with the rebel provocateurs. It may prove that the Brazilian and Nicaraguan contingents of the OAS force, and the naming of a Brazilian commander, have added the needed dose of Latin realism to the bland North American pudding.

● Senator Goldwater will announce (a few hours after we have gone to press) the establishment of yet another organization (The Free Society Association) designed to spread the good word and comfort the afflicted. It is adorned by a letterhead list of distinguished conservative scholars, most of them familiar to readers of NATIONAL REVIEW. Its practical aim would seem to be to keep together, within the folds of a single organization, the cadre of men who staffed the post-convention campaign of Senator Goldwater. These men, Mr. Ray Bliss has made abundantly clear, are not wanted around Republican headquarters these days. Now they have an organizational base of their own, whence to thumb their noses at Mr. Bliss and, if Mr. Bliss gets quite ungovernable, check out their own fund-raising powers against his. Consider the snub of Mr. Goldwater in the Ohio jamboree of two weeks ago. Practically every Republican in the world was invited to give a talk at some city or hamlet in Ohio to celebrate the GOP's good fortune at having found Mr. Bliss—except Senator Goldwater, who happens to be the most popular Republican alive. Senator Goldwater is a devoted Republican, and will most certainly not use The Free Society operation as a nucleus for a third party. But if one is (only temporarily, we pray) an ex-senator, with an ex-staff with nothing official to do, neglected by the new chairman of his own party (who couldn't have gotten the post without Goldwater's approval), it becomes necessary to arch one's eyebrow just a little. Which one has now done.

● David Susskind, theatrical producer and TV host, wants to run for John Lindsay's congressional seat if Lindsay is elected mayor of New York. BEAT LINDSAY!

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Focus on WASHINGTON

It is a big surprise to many, and a source of dry amusement to others, that the Kennedy Mystique continues to work its magic on a city now completely dominated by the relentless personality of Lyndon Johnson. True, the Kennedys have a power base, and must on that account be reckoned with. Following the abdication of Robert Wagner, Bobby has taken over New York and its leverage on national Democratic politics; and Teddy, for two years the number one pol in Massachusetts, can summon three to four votes from the Senate Locker Room, as Teddy's clique is irreverently known. And even the free-lance Kennedys—most pertinently Sargent Shriver—can get themselves noticed in the long shadow of LBJ. Two weeks ago, Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) wedged an amendment through the Senate instructing the President to dismiss Shriver from one or the other of his top agency posts, the Peace Corps or the Office of Economic Opportunity (the poor corps, to you). Javits maintained that no man could perform two full-time jobs to the best of his abilities. The Senate agreed. But not the House Foreign Affairs Committee . . . not a single member! Venerable Barratt O'Hara (the "Venerable" is almost part of Spanish-American War vet O'Hara's name) thought Javits' suggestion "nonsensical." Republican James Fulton (Pa.) felt that the Javits amendment might be construed in some quarters as a vote of no confidence in the President himself, and what self-respecting Republican wanted to run that risk? Wayne Hays (D., Ohio), who contends that the anti-poverty program has been a "colossal failure," agreed. And one senior Republican, Frances Bolton (Ohio), managed to compare Shriver favorably (according to unblinking reporter Mary McGrory) with both Leonardo da Vinci and some nameless messiah.

◆ If you watch closely you will observe in the next few weeks a virtually unprecedented media campaign to disparage and discourage obscure Ohio Democratic Congressman Michael Feighan (his name rhymes with Sheehan). Feighan is an unlikely target: a graduate of Princeton and the Harvard Law School, he was first elected to Congress in 1942 from Ohio's 20th Congressional District. He has been there since, seemingly immune to scandal, to smear, to the inevitable crises, personal and political, of a 23-year congressional career. He did not in fact make a major splash in the public prints until last year, when he tried unsuccessfully to block the entry into this country of Welsh actor Richard Burton and his blushing bride, Elizabeth Taylor Hilton Wilding Todd Fisher Burton. Feighan believed, and so announced, that the two of them had "behaved immorally," and were on that account undesirable visitors. But, behind the scenes, as early as mid-1963, Feighan was suggesting privately that JFK was not standing up as firmly as he should to the Communist advance. The Kennedy intelligence apparatus was too good to miss the warning buzzers. And JFK, usually through Attorney General Bobby (curiously the feud is now masterplanned from Teddy's office, which dispenses childish insults about the veteran congressman), began to sit on Feighan. The dispute was aggravated by Feighan's opposition to the Kennedy Immigration bill, over which he presided as Chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee. That bill, in various forms, has been in Feighan's committee for almost two years, despite recent efforts by LBJ to dislodge it. An all-out drive to pass the immigration bill will be mobilized soon. Feighan is its only obstacle. His proximate opponent will be full committee Chairman Emanuel Celler, and behind Celler the curious coalition of Kennedy and Johnson men, all of them in a state of high anxiety: for Michael Feighan is now the ranking majority member of the House Judiciary Committee, next in line behind Manny Celler, who is 77 years old. Politics, Jack Kennedy once said at a press conference, is a waiting game.

◆ The only thing the Federal Government had to match the announcement of the Job Corps pay scale this week was the release of details of its "rent supplement" loans. It goes like this (and remember that the House Banking and Currency Committee took it seriously enough to approve it): the Housing Administrator may subsidize a tenant's rent in an amount equal to the difference between the free-market rental value of the housing unit and one-fourth of the tenant's income. Thus, a family with a poverty-line income of $3,000 per annum —or, $250 per month—could live in an apartment renting for $100 per month and actually pay only $62.50. But what family would want to do that when it could immediately move to a $200 per month apartment and, under the plan's terms, still pay only $62.50? It should be pointed out that the bill does restrict subsidies to families with monthly incomes of less than $400, which should have the partial economic effect of providing inverse incentives: some families will certainly go on crash programs to minimize their income.

—CATO

Has Labor a Case Against 14(b)?

New York University's eminent student of labor law, Professor Sylvester Petro, has written a brilliant summary of the arguments against repeal of the right-to-work clause, Section 14(b), of the Taft-Hartley Act. Along the way, Professor Petro demolishes the principal arguments advanced by the laborites for repeal of the right-to-work clause.

Unions contend that it's a "union-busting" law. But Petro points out that the various state laws against compulsory unionism are written in such a way as to guarantee equal treatment for all persons whether union members or not. "Numerous statistical studies,"

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Petro writes, "demonstrate that unions have had no less success in organizing employees in states which have Right to Work laws than they have in other states. In fact, from all indications, they have had more organizing success in the Right to Work states."

Unions contend, again, that right-to-work laws make "free riders" out of the non-union employees who nevertheless "benefit" from wage conditions negotiated by the unions. But Mr. Petro shows that the "ride" is actually "forced" by a federal law that requires a union to bargain in behalf of all employees even though the union's membership is a mere majority of the whole. He concludes: "If unions really wish to rid themselves of 'free riders' a speedy and effective method is available. They need only ask Congress to remove from the law the exclusive-bargaining principle based on majority rule. When that is removed; when unions are content to bargain for only those employees who voluntarily select them as bargaining representatives, the unions can be perfectly sure that they will no longer be obliged to bargain on behalf of non-member employees in the unit."

Unions contend, further, that they must practice compulsory unionism if they are to be responsible and strong. But Petro argues that the only lasting basis of strong unionism is voluntary association based upon union persuasion and example. "For a long time, now," he writes, "despite their political and economic power, unions have been experiencing much employee resistance in their organizing drives. Among the reasons for this resistance is the observable public antipathy to the coercion, compulsion, and consequent corruption evident in so much union action. It will not do for unions to attempt to compensate for their organizational failures by seeking, through the repeal of 14(b) and the invalidation of the Right to Work laws, to widen the special privileges of compulsion that they now enjoy (to their long-run detriment)."

Unions contend, finally, that the right-to-work laws interfere with "freedom of contract" in that they prohibit certain kinds of union contracts. But Petro answers the contention neatly: "It is true that the Right to Work laws forbid contracts between unions and employers which impose union membership as a condition of employment. However, it is also true that those laws equally prohibit "yellow-dog" contracts between employers and employees which make *non*-membership a condition of employment. To the degree that the Right to Work laws interfere with freedom of contract, therefore, they do not penalize unions uniquely. They merely apply the same rule to unions as to employers, in the service of a value which they consider superior, namely, employee freedom of choice on the question of unionization."

Professor Petro's whole statement is available in pamphlet form (15¢) as a Task Force Study published by the American Conservative Union, whose address at their new, expanded headquarters is Suite 1101, 1010 Vermont Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

What Aim in Vietnam?

On June 15 the newspapers gave a big play to the criticisms of the President's Vietnam policy made by writers and artists invited to take part in the White House *Kulturklatsch* who were not backward in utilizing the platform which Mr. Johnson so generously provided them. Their message was the usual: we're awful, so let's all beat breasts and crawl into a cave. In more modestly placed paragraphs that same day appeared mention of "the first significant signs of potential Republican opposition to the Administration's Vietnam policies." By placement, comment and headline, one somehow got the impression that the Republicans were jumping on the Robert Lowell-John Hersey-Saul Bellow bandwagon.

What had happened was that Rep. Melvin Laird, leader of the House Republicans, had at last come out from under the Dirksen cloud and begun to speak in his own voice. Spurred by the inrush of U.S. ground troops to Vietnam, and the news that they were now to engage in direct combat operations, Mr. Laird reminded the President that it was time for the nation to know where it was going in Southeast Asia. His critique was the diametric opposite of the artists'. Declaring that "Republicans will continue to support Pres. Johnson," he added the all-important proviso that the blanket rhetoric of the President's defenders and critics has alike been obscuring: "when his actions in the Vietnamese situation serve American and Free World interests and when they do not needlessly waste or endanger American lives."

Mr. Laird went on to motivate his qualms, and to make clear what he meant by "needlessly waste." He and his colleagues were ready to back the President in all necessary measures, very definitely including the use of ground forces, but if and only if our goal in Vietnam is worth the cost—if, specifically, it is "victory over the Communist insurgency." To be sure of this, we must have from the President himself the plain statement of intent that he has not yet given. Otherwise, "we can only conclude that present policy is aimed not at victory over the Communist insurgency or driving Communists out of South Vietnam but rather at some sort of negotiated settlement which would include Communist elements in a coalition government." If this is the case, if the Administration is proceeding "with large-scale use of ground forces [only] to save face in Vietnam," then we are already "over-committed in this area of the world and needlessly exposing the lives of American boys."

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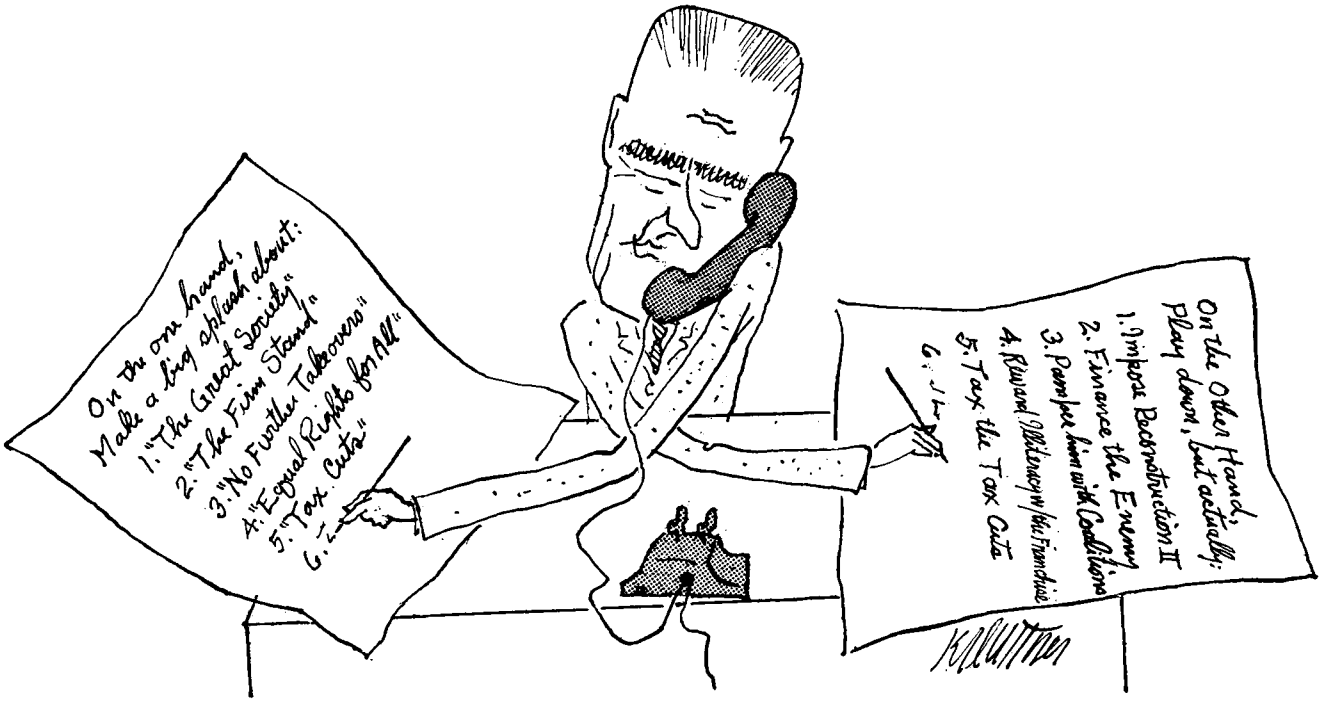

"I have a lot of dictation on how colossal, incredible and irresistible I am. Tell Marianne to bring her book."

Rep. Laird, long closely associated with our military affairs, is well placed to know what he is talking about in these matters. He is, moreover, a sober man, unusually careful with his words. It is not likely that he would have spoken thus without some cause.

How say you, Mr. President?

Through the Bamboo Curtain

A number of U.S. newspapers have recently published a series of articles on Communist China by Mark Gayn, a reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star,* who has just returned from his latest visit to that country. The articles made interesting reading. In the past, Mark Gayn has written pieces that seemed to show pro-Chinese Communist coloration, and perhaps there are favoring distortions this time also. Certainly the articles, without departing from realities, but with a different selection and weighting, could have been more openly skeptical and more negative in judgment. Still, there is a lot of information here, a lot of description that seems on its face straightforward and which was fascinating. Moreover, Gayn's evaluations—some of them made fully explicit—are far from unmixed endorsements. "China is one of the most regimented of states," he summarizes in his concluding paragraphs. "Its children shuffle in formation, and its housewives gather in backyards to study Chairman Mao's works." He tells of an evening spent with two American defectors, and how he found himself "listening to a steady recitation of quotations from Chairman Mao's works. My guests had a quotation ready for any subject . . . . It was as if these two intelligent and educated persons had become robots." He dismisses the swarm of foreign well-wishers who come to Peking as "walk-ons in a political play, figures in mob scenes," and he ends with an anecdote that starkly expresses the incredible abnormality of the entire Chinese Communist enterprise.

Reading these articles, we reflect once more on the established U.S. policy of forbidding American journalists to visit Communist China. *NR* is aware of the arguments for this prohibition, and aware also that it is a two-way veto, due as much to Peking's decision as to Washington's. But we wonder whether its continuance really serves any sufficient purpose. Fellow-traveling journalists or dupes would send propagandized accounts? Undoubtedly. Peking (for a reopening would have to be reciprocal) would send agents in the guise of journalists? Naturally. But there are many American journalists who are neither dupes nor fellow travelers, and the American public has had long experience of disguised Communist agents. Quite simply, we would like to find out more about Communist China, and we think professional American journalists might be telling us more if they could go there. About the only condition that seems to us essential is a firm understanding that Peking (and Washington, too, of course) could not impose a political veto on which journalists would enter—that would be up to the paper, magazine or news service that sent them, or to the free-lance journalists who might go on their own. That agreed to, we ought to take our chances.

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G-Man, Spare That City!

Columbia's Professor Martin Anderson, author of *The Federal Bulldozer,* a devastating attack on "urban renewal" (reviewed in *NR,* December 29, 1964), testified on June 8 before the House Subcommittee on Urban Small Business Problems. He dramatized his statement by citing actual instances of the injustice of "renewal" as presently managed, as in the case of a

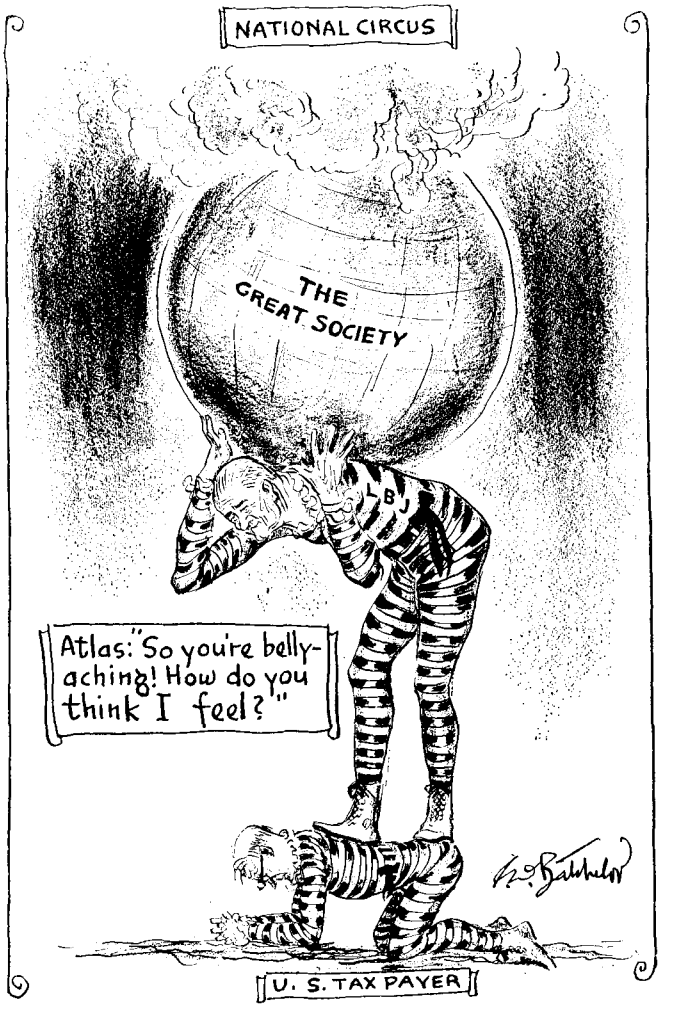
> . . . sixty-five-year-old shoemaker, an Italian immigrant with six years of education, who had occupied the same location during his thirty-five years in business. His complaint was that 'the loss was more than just a building—my work is gone forever too. All of my customers have moved away.' He said that the forced move 'shook my confidence in my city and my country—I never thought they would do such a thing.'

Professor Anderson went on to discuss the theory of eminent domain, under which a government may requisition private property for public purposes, giving just compensation. But more often than not the property seized from one businessman under a "renewal" plan is turned over to another businessman for his private purposes and advantage, constituting a forcible transfer of property that Professor Anderson finds unconscionable if not unconstitutional.

Rather than plaster the thing over with laws to increase the compensation payable to the dispossessed, Professor Anderson recommended that the fundamental issue be faced squarely, and that an answer be given to the question whether the government *should* have the power to seize one man's property and hand it over to another.

And on that question the Congress heard some unusually direct language. "Anyone who supports the current urban renewal law," said the Professor, "supports a law which, in the future, will cause one small business to close its doors every 90 minutes." The entire urban renewal law, said he, should be repealed.

Why stop there?



On the Bongo Beat of History, or, Black Mischief Revisited

The following is a transcript of a broadcast that was not heard through the facilities of the TransAfrican Network, June 4, 1965:

I'm speaking to you from the runway at Dar es Salaam, capital of newly independent Tanzania, where Premier Chou En-lai has just arrived aboard his special Ilyushin jet. That noise you hear is a welcoming band made up of Ngoma tribesmen, playing their very distinctive music. We'd hoped to get a word from the Premier, but it seems the Premier isn't going to be allowed to speak just yet. No, there he goes, accompanied by President Nyerere, in the lead limousine, and . . . one moment, please, there seems to be some sort of disturbance along the line there. Yes, here they come, the Dar es Salaam Fire Department, roaring up past the motorcade! The Ngoma tribesmen continue to play, they're still playing it, their distinctive, loud . . . and a bulletin has just been handed me! No, it is not a bulletin, it is, yes, it is the speech of Premier Chou En-lai, which he has unfortunately not delivered, but Chinese functionaries seem to be all around us anyway, handing them out in the crowd. Oh, now a bulletin *has* been handed me. A swarm of bees—a swarm, I say, of bees—nesting in a tree has accidentally been released onto the parade route by a Tanzanian who had climbed up to secure a better vantage point. The Tanzanian, whose identity has not been determined, fell from the tree into a pile of, a pile of oranges it says, and the bees are now—wait a minute! Wait a minute! The firefighters are unable to extract water from their hoses! And here is *another* bulletin!

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President Nyerere has just told Chou En-lai that the freedom of Tanzania is not for sale! I'll repeat that: Not For Sale! The oranges, ah, the firefighters are now roaring back down the runway, past the crowds waving their colorful flags, past the Ngoma tribesmen, still playing rather close by, and—good grief, I am handed another bulletin. Stand by, please!

Nairobi, Kenya. Vice President Oginga Odinga, notorious Peking sympathizer, will not, repeat not, represent Jomo Kenyatta's government at the Commonwealth conference in London! There was no immediate word on this extraordinary development from Mr. Kenyatta, but sources close to the government reliably report him to have said recently: "Odinga has me up a tree. He wants to put a bee in my bonnet but he will only stir up a hornets' nest and upset the orange cart." What does this mean? What will be the future of Chinese-African relations? Why will Nyerere not sell Tanzania? And what will Ogingadingado? Can he recoup or canyatta? Hello! Are we cut off? Hello! And now back to our studio. Quick!

Soon, at Your Local Theater

"Over sharp Republican opposition, the House voted yesterday to permit showings in the United States of a government-sponsored documentary film about the late President Kennedy. . . . It has been highly praised by foreign audiences and a number of domestic critics who have seen private showings."

—*Washington Post*, June 10, 1965

"Mr. Crowther of the *New York Times* is the most powerful movie critic in the land. He is invited to Washington to attend the premiere of *John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums,* where he sits among the Rusks, the Dillons, the Warrens, and other brass. *JFK: YOLDOD* is a government propaganda film, made for distribution abroad—at least they *say* for distribution abroad—by the U.S. Information Agency, which Agency, as Mr. Crowther knows, was not created to propagandize the American public in behalf of any one party, administration, politician, or group of politicians. He knows that very well. Yet, as they say in show biz, the wind bloweth where it listeth. Here are the underlinable portions from Mr. Crowther's review: 'A magnificent motion picture tribute to President Kennedy which, under a tacit understanding with Congress, cannot be distributed in the United States [fire one] . . . is not to be released to the public in the United States [fire two] . . . Therefore this stunning picture . . . cannot be shown to the people of this country [fire three], for whom its message of inspiration [fire four, five, six and seven] should mean so much, unless some special arrangement [*target!*] is made.' Now stand by for the depth charge. 'It is therefore not considered likely that the present picture, the most ambitious ever made by the agency . . . will reach domestic distribution without a considerable amount of public pressure [BLAM] being put on Congress.' "

—*NR*, Dec. 1, 1964

Martin Buber, RIP

Martin Buber, who died in Jerusalem on June 13 at the age of 87, was one of the great formative spirits of the age. Philosophers, theologians, educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, poets, novelists, men involved in the most diverse of human concerns, have testified to the deep and lasting influence Buber had upon their work and their thought. His influence, in fact, transcended all lines of religious affiliation, professional activity, and intellectual commitment, not because he was indifferent to these matters, but because his thinking was so relevant to them all.

Martin Buber possessed, or rather was possessed by, one master idea, to explore, deepen, and elaborate which he devoted most of his life. This was the idea, simple in its essence, but most explosive in its implications, that the true quality of human life—"wholeness of being," as Buber himself was wont to put it—could be achieved only in a context of person-to-person relation out of which would emerge both authentic personality and authentic community. "The I becomes a self only in relation to a Thou": with this key concept, Buber challenged our dehumanizing culture on all fronts. Not a self-encapsulated individualism which cuts one off from one's neighbor, nor an all-engulfing collectivism in which everything unique and distinctive is dissolved, is the way of man, but the true community of the I-Thou in which self and society in freedom sustain and strengthen each other. The "between man and man" Buber saw as the paradigm for the "between man and God"; and the "relational" philosophy very soon became a "relational" theology which has deeply affected all of Western religious thought—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—for the past forty years.

His numerous interventions in public affairs were not, on the face of it, so successful. He enthusiastically supported the *kibbutz*, the pioneering free collective in Palestine, but lived long enough to see it not only shrink in importance, but also develop tendencies abhorrent to his heart. He was the greatest protagonist of a broad cultural Zionism on the Continent in the 1920s, and into the Hitler era, but soon saw it replaced by the much narrower political type we are familiar with today. In the decade before the establishment of the State of Israel, he passionately

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advocated Arab-Jewish unity in a bi-national state, but found he could not make himself heard in the chauvinistic clamor when the state was founded. In all these things, Buber failed; but the question suggests itself whether his failure will not in the long run prove more significant than the victory of those who triumphed.

And now, Martin Buber is gone. All mankind is diminished by his loss. As for Buber himself, we may rest assured that God knows His own. *W.H.*

On the Right

Man May Come And Man May Go (But Powell Goes on Forever)

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

I am advised by my conscience that I have not done my duty this season, not until I pay my respects to Adam Clayton Powell Jr. I confess that I need to drag myself to the typewriter to perform the ritual. In days gone by, when the Reverend Powell was a hero to significant members of the Liberal community, it was different. I have expended, in my lifetime, as much first-class indignation on the rascal as on anybody in the world, regardless of race, color, or creed. And it was not, by the way, all that long ago that everyone agreed to hate Adam.

Buckley

Mrs. Powell Works at Home

John F. Kennedy couldn't wait, having taken his oath of office as President of the United States, to toss a testimonial dinner for Powell, to which he dispatched no less than two Cabinet members—who arrived drunk, one hopes: as the only way to deaden the shock of traveling from the fresh-blown rhetoric of the New Frontier, to the gall of gourmandizing over the virtues of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. I have tucked away a list of the sponsors of that affair. Charity compels me to keep it under lock and key. But come at me from whatever direction, I shall be immune from the assaults of the highest princes of America: because they were there. Or most of them, anyway. And I can prove it.

The latest effrontery of Adam Clayton Powell, which has the *New York Times* so worked up it quite literally can't stand it, is this. Mr. Powell has what-you-say, a way with women. A couple of years ago he scandalized by taking a couple of Miss America types to Europe to investigate women's rights or Greek culture or something ("Adam Contemplating the Bust of Venus," NATIONAL REVIEW entitled its editorial comment). Congress, of course, paid the bill.

Meanwhile, the incumbent Mrs. Powell had been selected from among his pulchritudinous staff. She had been making $3,074 per annum. A month after their marriage, she demonstrated such superior administrative skills as to warrant a raise to $12,974. Months later, she was raised to a salary of $18,907, a salary approaching that of a congressman. Prodded by Representative John Ashbrook, who brought up the matter and other related matters involving the Reverend Powell's at-homeness with the Federal Treasury, Congress passed a resolution to the effect that any remuneration to a member of a congressman's staff may only be for services rendered either in Washington, or in the congressman's home district.

This resolution disadvantaged Mrs. Powell because she lives blissfully, steadfastly, in Puerto Rico, Rev's home away from home. Congress went to the trouble of reaffirming this resolution in January of this year. Results? Zero. The checks keep going to the lady, who continues to do her duties in Puerto Rico, 1200 miles or so away from the offices of her husband. The *Times* wants to know why Congress doesn't do something about it. Good point. Begging the superior point, why doesn't Congress do something about the Reverend Powell?

The First Class Mr. Powell

What does Mr. Powell have that other people don't have, that gives him these numinous prerogatives? I heard a Liberal editor ask the editor of the *Amsterdam News* (New York's biggest Negro paper) the question a year ago. "Adam," said *Amsterdam*, "has seniority. That's what he has." Indeed. He is head of one of the most important committees of Congress, whence he stalks Washington, dispensing and withholding favors. At home, in Harlem, he has nothing at all to worry about. The fiercer the pressures to exorcise Congress of his presence, the broader his smile.

"You know why 'they' don't like me?" he grins at his audience. "Because I travel *first class*." It brings down the house. "They" resent "him" not because he is a demagogue; not because he is a scoundrel; not because he flouts the law. But because he is uppity. And we Negroes have to stick together. The crowd goes wild with loyalty.

Responsible Negroes have tried to depose him. The streets of Harlem are littered with their bones. Martin Luther King, for all his pretensions, can't or at least doesn't, resist him. If President Kennedy can back Adam Powell, why can't they? Indeed, why not? It would be interesting to hear Robert Kennedy's view of the matter. Don't call me, I'll call you.

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The Third World War

Whose Peace?

JAMES BURNHAM

Peace, we all know, is one of those big abstractions, like Home and Truth and Mother and Freedom, that everyone is for, just as we are all against War, Tyranny, Crime and Sin. The universality of the attitudes proves them to be mere verbal reflexes, without significant meaning until we relate them to place and time.

Burnham

A "pacifist" is, like you and me, for Peace. According to classic definition, what a pacifist means by this is opposition to war "as an institution." If his pacifism is genuine, he is against war of any kind—international or civil, conventional or guerrilla—no matter by whom conducted; and applying his doctrine, he refuses to take part in, or support, any war. The genuine pacifist is therefore prepared to go to jail, or even to be shot, without whimpering, in witness to his truth.

Whatever we think of the religious, philosophical and empirical justifications offered for pacifism—and they seem to me very feeble—we must recognize that genuine pacifists are "subjectively sincere." They really do believe what they say they believe, and this they prove by their conduct. The objective consequences of their belief are something else again: you would think that a pacifist of country X would be disturbed by the obvious enough fact that his pursuit of pacifism in his own country necessarily weakens his country in relation to country Y, especially if pacifism is *verboten* in country Y; but pacifists rate themselves above such mundane considerations. Country Y, however, keeps them in mind, and this is why the leaders of country Y often lend a hand to the spread of pacifism—in country X.

I am inclined to think that there are not many simon-pure pacifists. Sometimes seeming pacifism is a mask for cowardice or sloth. Even more frequently in our time a pseudo-pacifism — known usually as "the peace movement"—is merely a mode of political and social struggle.

The strategic objectives of the peace movement are various social reforms, or social revolution. The tactical objective is precise: *to disarm the enemy.* Approaching its objectives indirectly, the peace movement seeks to outflank the guns, troops, police, jails and magistrates of the enemy by psychological (propagandistic), social (mass-action) and moral (guilt-stimulating) means. By skillful use of these primary weapons systems, the peace movement aims to penetrate to the enemy's innermost citadel—to his mind, his soul—and to induce him to *disarm himself*: to renounce *his* weapons, to spike his missiles, retire his ships and troops, forbear shooting, drop his club, ignore the illegalities, dismiss the charges, accept the trespass, fire the police commissioner, theater commander and school superintendent.

Under the Magical Sign

The success of Peace operations depends on the magical potency of the word "peace." If I sit down before the White House under the sign of Peace, I am served coffee and doughnuts by the guards, instead of knocks on the head; the judge suspends sentence instead of slapping me in a cell; the troops sheathe their bayonets; the sovereign government bows to my will.

A genuine pacifist rates peace—peace absolutely, peace everywhere—first among values. If necessary, he will sacrifice anything else—social justice and his country's liberty as well as his own comfort, freedom or life — to peace. The self-deluded pseudo-pacifists and the exploiters or manipulators of pacifist sentiment—the peace-mongers—can often be spotted by either 1) their double standard for Peace, or 2) their amalgam of Peace with a medley of other political and social goals. Their peace movements demand Peace from the French paras, not from the Arab FLN; from the U.S. Marines, not from the Vietcong; from Britain and France in Suez, not from the Red Army in Budapest; from the cops, not from the demonstrators. Let us have total racial integration, total free speech, Peace in Vietnam, student control of the campus, and free public housing!

My Peace and Yours

Just now in the U.S., "the peace issue" focuses on *Peace in Vietnam!* The merging of the peace movement into the movements for social reform and social revolution is more than ever conspicuous. Particularly notable is the extension of many civil rights groups to the peace field. In recent months, Peace in Vietnam slogans have appeared from CORE, SNCC and SCLC in ostensible civil rights demonstrations, and the leaders of these three organizations have added the Peace demands to their speeches. Campus CORE chapters have sponsored showings of the North Vietnam propaganda film. The myriad radical, Communist and other left-extremist groups are all also part of the Vietnam Peace Front.

In the concrete, the genuine pacifists and the Liberals within the teach-in crowd have become, under the sign of Peace, the unwitting or heedless dupes, captives and assistants of a movement that has in reality nothing to do with peace: a movement tending immediately toward a U.S. pull-out from Vietnam (thus a Communist victory), and more generally toward radical social change, ultimately social revolution. (This the pacifists and Liberals may verify for themselves simply by reading the leaflets passed out at "their own" gatherings.) It is these practical consequences—implicit in the logic of Liberal ideology, but now brought to the surface by the Vietnam crisis—that have begun to open, for the first time since 1947/8, a fissure within the Liberal community that may prove impossible to close.

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Capitalism and African Economic Development

Mr. Bauer has come forward with a revolutionary thesis: The new African countries, he suggests, will do better if they fire their planners and try free enterprise

P. T. BAUER

There has been very rapid material progress in many parts of Africa over the last sixty to eighty years, particularly in regions where the developed countries have established close contact. This disposes both of the vicious circle of poverty (the cornerstone of the dominant ideology) and of the allegation that contact with the developed world has obstructed African progress. This is, of course, not to say that people in the materially advanced parts are either more or less happy than they are elsewhere or than their forebears. But this is a different issue.

Ghana, Nigeria Lead Pack

The experience of Ghana and Nigeria is especially noteworthy. These countries are in the forefront of current political developments in Africa; both were colonies until 1957 and 1960 respectively; appreciably over 99.5 per cent of their population is African, and there are and always have been only a handful of non-African civil servants and traders there. The rapid progress of these countries since the end of the nineteenth century is well brought out in foreign trade statistics. For various reasons these statistics are unusually reliable and they are meaningful because all agricultural exports are produced by Africans, as there are no foreign plantations there; the vast bulk of imports is significant. Moreover, until recently there was either no, or only negligible, local production of the type of commodities imported, so that the imports indicate the total local consumption or use of these commodities.

Around 1900 total annual imports and exports of Nigeria were each about £2 million, while at present they are each about £200 million; for Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) the corresponding annual figures are about £1 million and £100 million. Over this period there has been a spectacular increase in imports of both consumer and capital goods into these territories. In 1900 there were no imports, or only negligible imports, into these territories of flour, sugar, cigarettes, cement, petroleum products or iron and steel. In recent years these have been on a massive scale, except when they have been replaced by local production, as in the case of cement and cigarettes. Exports of cocoa, groundnuts, or cotton from Nigeria or the Gold Coast were nil or negligible in 1900, while exports of oil palm produce from Nigeria were about one-tenth of their present volume. Today these are staple exports of world commerce, and annual shipments are hundreds of thousand of tons. To take but one example, in 1895 cocoa exports from the Gold Coast were about 34 tons; from Nigeria there were none. By the mid-1930s they were about 300,000 tons from the Gold Coast and about 80,000 tons from Nigeria; at present there are over 400,000 tons from Ghana and about 120,000 tons from Nigeria, all from holdings planted, operated and owned by Africans.

Ghanaians Treble Since 1900

There is of course much other information on the material progress of these countries from sporadic estimates of the national income, and from such more reliable and meaningful statistics as those of education, public health, government revenue, transport and so on. In both countries (as elsewhere in Africa) the population has increased greatly as a result of the reduction in death rates which implies a substantial increase in life expectation. The population of what is now Ghana, for instance, has approximately trebled since 1900. The information about Nigeria is very scanty, but the population has certainly increased very greatly since 1900; it has probably more than doubled. Such statistics cannot convey the far-reaching and pervasive changes which have transformed life over large parts of West Africa. Slavery, slave raiding, communal disorder and famine have been largely eliminated; there has been a large reduction in endemic and epidemic disease and a substantial development of communications. At the turn of the century Kano in Northern Nigeria was still an important slave market; today it is the center of the groundnut industry.

Growth vs. Stagnation Ills

None of this is intended in the least to suggest that all is, or was, for the best in these countries. Throughout this period there were considerable political and economic problems and difficulties. But it is to deprive words of their meaning to assert that these areas have experienced no material progress and are caught in a vicious circle of poverty and stagnation. Nor should the foregoing be interpreted as a plea for *laissez-faire* or any other particular policy. But it is obvious that the problems of rapid and uneven growth are radically different from those of stagnation and require a very different kind of official action.

The colonial status of these territories does not seem to have retarded their progress. Rather the reverse, as it promoted the inflow of adminis-

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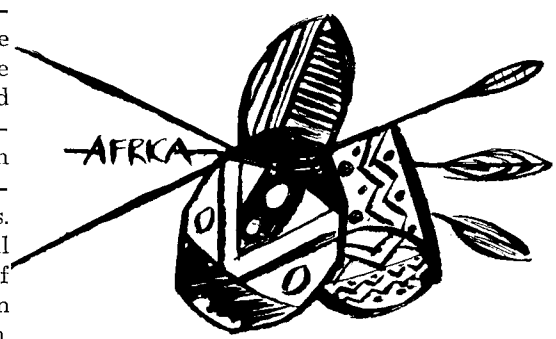
trative, commercial and technical skills as well as of capital changes in West Africa. It was particularly necessary for the construction of railways and other communications, which were most expensive and difficult in West Africa. Dr. McPhee indicates some of these difficulties in describing the construction of the Gold Coast railway by the colonial government around 1900:

> In considering the cost of the construction of railways in West Africa it is necessary to recollect that they have been constructed through dense tropical forest in what is generally recognized as the worst climate in the world, necessitating very short hours of service and constant changes of staff in every grade; with very heavy rainfall: with scarcity and inferiority of unskilled labor: with considerable landing difficulties; and the necessity of carrying on construction entirely from one base, owing to absence of roads or paths of any description to facilitate the transport of materials in advance of the railhead. Further allowance must be made for the native revolts and military operations which have occurred in each case, causing interruptions and disorganization. . . . Another factor making for high costs was the scarcity of ballast in most parts.

There is in West Africa an independent country, Liberia, the material progress of which was far slower; indeed, in comparison with Ghana and Nigeria it was barely perceptible over this period, which hardly suggests that African political independence has been more conducive to economic progress than has colonial status. This was explicitly and courteously, though somewhat unexpectedly, recognized by the representative of Liberia at the United Nations on the accession of Ghana to the United Nations as a sovereign state. He said: "The remarkable development of the state of Ghana while it was under guardianship provides a unique example of what can be accomplished through the processes of mutual cooperation and goodwill among peoples."

As West Africa Goes

The West African experience is only a most striking example of a more general experience in Africa. There has been substantial material advance in many parts of the continent since the turn of the century, generally starting from extremely primitive and indeed savage conditions; in every case it has occurred in areas and among people in established contact with the developed world; the colonial status has promoted rather than retarded this advance (the position of two African countries, Ethiopia and Liberia, that have been completely independent throughout and that are neighbors of colonial areas, tends to bear this out). And at present, throughout the region, the most prosperous areas and sectors are those in contact with the developed world, notably the crop-producing areas and the ports of West Africa, the European-settler region of East Africa, and the mineral-producing areas of Central and South Africa; conversely, the poorest and the most backward are those populations with few or no external contacts.



The material advance of many African territories, then, flatly contradicts the thesis of the vicious circle of poverty and stagnation. This is, of course, refuted also by the very existence of developed countries, all of which began as underdeveloped; indeed, it is refuted by the very notion of development.

More generally, it is contradicted by the rise from poverty to riches of innumerable individuals and groups throughout the world in both developed and underdeveloped countries: this would be impossible if there existed a practically insurmountable vicious circle of poverty. It is indeed remarkable that this thesis should have been so widely publicized and accepted when it is in flagrant contradiction to simple logic and obvious empirical evidence.

According to the dominant ideology economic attainment depends on government policy; and insistence on government planning as the necessary and apparently sufficient condition of progress is its central tenet. In prescription as in diagnosis, Professor Myrdal is probably the most explicit and influential exponent of the ideology with his emphatic insistence on government planning as the determinant of economic progress. Such factors as climate, natural resources, economic qualities, customs and attitudes do not figure either in his diagnosis or his proposals. "The political independence they have won for themselves, or are now winning," he says, "is their most precious asset; the national state." If sovereign status were so important for economic advance it is difficult to see why there are, and always have been, so many very poor independent countries in the world, including those in Africa: Ethiopia, independent since time immemorial, much longer than many developed countries (including the United States), and Liberia, independent at least since 1847, are among the materially most backward countries in Africa, perhaps the most backward. Professor Myrdal simply asserts that economic attainment depends largely on government action and that the government of an independent country will be both able and willing to promote economic development without explaining why.

The dominant ideology interprets central planning not simply as the phasing or coordination of public investment, but as comprehensive and detailed control over the economy. Professor Myrdal writes:

> A main element of every national development plan is a decision to increase the total amount of investment, aimed at raising the productive powers of the country, and to procure the capital formation necessary for this purpose. The plan must determine this over-all amount and must, in addition, determine the proportions of the capital which should be allocated in different directions: to increase the over-all facilities in transport and power production; to construct new plants and acquire the machinery for heavy industries and for light industries of various types; to raise the productivity level in agriculture by long-term investments in irrigation schemes and short term investments in tools, machinery and fertilizers; to improve the levels of health, education and training of the working people, and

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so on. To be practical and effective, the plan must be worked out not only as a general frame but must have this frame filled and concretized by careful segmental planning. And it must contain definite direction on all points and, in addition, spell out instructions for the specific inducements and controls by which the realization of these directives becomes effected.

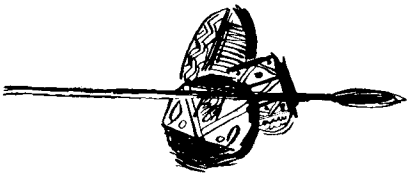
Comprehensive development planning thus means that what is produced is determined largely by the government rather than by the individuals comprising the society.

> The national plans cannot be made in terms of costs and profits for the individual enterprises; they can, in fact, not be made in terms of the prices in the markets . . . the whole meaning of the national plan is to give such shelter from market forces to investment, enterprise and production that they become undertaken in spite of the fact that they are not remunerative according to private business calculations.
>
> It is here that the national state comes in as representing the common and long-term interests of the community at large. It senses the fictitiousness of the private business calculations in terms of costs and profits. . . .
>
> *The plan and its targets, in other words, have to render the basis for deciding the criteria: the decisions themselves are political decisions reached in terms of national welfare as this is determined by the political process.*

Does Planning Impede Growth?

This certainly does not show how the economy is to benefit from the overriding of the decisions of the individuals comprising it. It assumes axiomatically that the economy will progress more rapidly if what is produced is determined largely by the government rather than by individual consumers and producers. Such a policy does not augment resources but only centralizes power. Not one of the new developed countries resorted to comprehensive planning in the past. Nor is it used in Hong Kong, the underdeveloped country which has progressed most strikingly in recent years.

Statements such as Professor Myrdal's, which could be multiplied, take the case for comprehensive planning for granted without argument. But it is by no means obvious why an economy should progress more rapidly, if what is produced is determined largely by the government, rather than by individual consumers and producers. At times the advocacy



of comprehensive planning is supported by arguments which seem to have specific content and some superficial plausibility, but they vanish on examination. One is that comprehensive planning is necessary to promote industrialization, particularly the development of heavy industry. In fact, there has been massive development of manufacturing in many developed and underdeveloped countries (the latter including Hong Kong, Japan and Brazil, among others) without such policies. They may well be all sorts of activities which would not emerge without comprehensive planning, but it does not in the least follow that they would represent either an efficient use of resources or that they would promote the growth of resources. Counsel has often been darkened in this field by focussing attention on particular activities, regarding these somehow as a net addition to output, and disregarding not only the demand for the output, but also costs in terms of alternative use of resources. It is certainly not clear why and how the overriding of the decisions of individuals should increase the flow of income, especially the flow of desired goods and services which constitute the standard of living. The critical remarks in this paragraph and elsewhere in this section do not of course apply to the familiar instances of indiscriminate benefits yielded by traditional government activities and the capital expenditure associated with these. Indeed some of these activities, especially in the fields of public health and basic communications, can yield striking benefits in underdeveloped countries. But this is a different matter from comprehensive planning.

Again it is often said that government planning is required in poor countries because of a lack of entrepreneurial talent there. Quite apart from the manifest invalidity of this allegation in many African countries, the obvious question arises, where is the government going to get entrepreneurial talent if there is none in the country? Comprehensive planning is also sometimes advocated as necessary to increase investment expenditure. This is again irrelevant, since saving and investment can be encouraged by a budget surplus or by various measures encouraging private savings and investment. This is quite apart from the question that a piece of expenditure does not become productive by being labeled investment. The merits of an investment program cannot be assessed meaningfully, except in terms of some estimates of prospective returns against costs in terms of alternative uses of the resources, taking into account also the repercussions of both the collection and the expenditure of funds.

Planning Evidence Equivocal

Once comprehensive planning is adopted and the case for it assumed axiomatically, then either stagnation or progress can be adduced in favor of its continuation and extension with superficial plausibility; stagnation of the economy can be adduced as evidence of the necessity for its extension, and progress as evidence of its success. On this basis there need be no limit, either to the continuation or to the extension of this policy. Myrdal puts it neatly: "When, as a matter of fact, many underdeveloped countries demonstrate shocking waste of very scarce resources in 'showpiece' public works and in subsidizing expensive starts of investment and production along blind alleys, this is the result of their failure to apply rigid planning, and the only cure is to improve their planning."

There is one argument in the advocacy of comprehensive planning which is prominent in Africa and is therefore worthwhile considering in some detail. This is that central planning is necessary for economic independence. If this means only the enlargement of manufacturing industry or of some other activity or range of activities, there is no need to add much to what has already been said. In any case subsidization of one particular activity does not strengthen the economy. Nor do such policies

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serve usually to reduce the economic risks confronting a country as effectively as the building up of foreign-exchange reserves or the promotion of the flexibility of the economy by the improvement of communications or its system of education. But the advocates of economic independence may mean something more ambitious, though this is not easy to ascertain because the aim is imprecise. Political independence, in the sense of national sovereignty, is a clear-cut concept, namely, the freedom of the government to act without reference to external authority. By analogy, economic independence would seem to mean a state of affairs under which a country is unaffected by external economic conditions. But this implies the reduction of external contacts to an absolute minimum. And this, on the face of it, does not seem desirable in the sense of improving the economic conditions of its inhabitants. Economic independence, in the sense of absence of external contacts, is fully obtainable only by subsistence producers and, as is well known, subsistence production is generally incompatible with even a tolerable level of economic attainment. It is no accident that throughout the underdeveloped world, and especially so in Africa, the most backward parts are those with the fewest external contacts.

What affects economic progress, in fact, is not economic independence, in the sense of self-sufficient isolation, but economic interdependence, in the sense of extensive external contacts. The importance of external economic contacts must be manifest. These are the channels through which human and material resources, skills and capital from developed countries reach the underdeveloped world. They open up new markets and sources of supply, and they bring new commodities and techniques to the notice of the local population. They undermine the traditional customs and attitudes which obstruct material advance: they arouse expectations and dissatisfaction with existing circumstances, which is the first condition of economic progress.

These external contacts enabled the Africans to draw on the capital resources and technical skills of developed countries, which raised and maintained the African economies above subsistence production. At present these contacts offer exceptional opportunities. Because of the presence of advanced countries and highly developed communications, the underdeveloped world has readier access to the fruits of scientific and technical progress than the new developed countries had in the past. Access to this accumulated knowledge could be as helpful as access to unused land was to other countries in times past. The ability of the underdeveloped countries to take advantage of this depends greatly on the attitudes and skills of their own peoples, as well as on government policies promoting or restricting international contacts.

The advocacy of economic independence, in the sense of minimal external contacts and even those under government control, stems from the desire for a closely controlled economy. As we have seen, central planning in the sense of government determination of the composition and direction of economic activity is influentially advocated and, again as already argued, it is not at all clear why and how this promotes a rise in general living standards. But it certainly promotes a concentration of power in the hands of the government, which the advocates of centrally controlled economies consider desirable; and reduction of external contacts usually facilitates government control of the economy.

Can-Do and the Computer

Once upon a time a can-do type from Ford took over at the Pentagon. First thing he did was cut costs. He cut out the atom-powered airplane, and he cut out the space glider, and he cut out all jumbo H-bomb manufacture—things like that. Businessmen thought he was great because, hell, everybody knows an organization travels lighter when the fat's lopped off.

When the Austin crowd came in, old can-do kept cutting away. He cut out all World War II guns on destroyers, and he cut off all old-fashioned propeller airplane production, and he cut off the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Anybody who wondered out loud was this guy off his nut, he'd point to a computer and say: "Care to argue with that, Buster?"

Then along came a day when some PT boats shot at a U. S. destroyer, and all they had to shoot back with was ground-to-air missiles. Then along came a war where what they needed was old-fashioned propeller jobs, and all they had was million-dollar push-button jets. And when somebody wondered out loud shouldn't Douglas Aircraft crank up that old-fashioned WW II airplane line, old can-do blew a gasket. Then he cranked it up.

Confucius say he who program computer with lousy input allee same big dumb bunny.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Letter from the Pacific

Japan and the Future

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

Tokyo

Though Eisaku Sato has strongly supported resistance against Communism in Southeast Asia, and the Japanese people and the world eagerly await indications of a bolder foreign policy, it seems reasonable to conclude that no tremendous change in Japan's world outlook will come for almost a decade. These offshore islands of Asia are too deeply involved in the processes of economic transformation to turn, at this point, to political and military enterprises such as now engage the attentions and energies of the American people. Yet one can see the potential of great power operations by the mid-1970s.

The year 1975 will mark a rise to full political power of the generation that was twenty years of age when imperial Japan was defeated by the U.S. The occupation has given way to a wide measure of U.S.-Japanese corporate cooperation, such as the recent launching of a 50,000-ton tanker whose engines were made jointly by General Electric and the Ishikawajima Heavy Industries Co. American and other foreign companies are welcome in Japan; and Denmark and Sweden, for example, have even invested in the shipbuilding industry. This industry continues to lead the world. British shipbuilders and shipyard workers received a crushing blow in late November when the famous British firm, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co. (the P&O line), ordered new ships from the Hitachi Zosen K. K. and the Mitsui Shipbuilding and Engineering Co.

Like the United States in the 1920s, Japan's business is business. The mass participation in capitalist advancement is perhaps unprecedented in the world for such a short span of time. The word "boom" doesn't begin to explain the explosion of productive energy and prosperity here on the sprawling Kanto Plains. The production and prosperity explosion is revealed in the outpouring of automobiles and trucks that jam the narrow streets and highways of Japan. By any indicator, Japan is gaining wealth—well-distributed wealth—at a rate which no one thought possible in Asia. What effect this Japanese wealth is having on Asia is hard to calculate. But envy is a worldwide phenomenon. And countries such as Indonesia and India, caught up in indolence or age-old retarding superstitions, must regard the Japanese economic miracle with less than full respect and pleasure. Prime Minister Sato has spoken of his desire to establish closer relations with other Asian countries. But Japan is moving westward in many ways, not in its deepest instincts, to be sure; but in its economic and technological patterns. As a matter of fact, a case can be made that Japan has more cultural links with the U.S. than with many Asian countries. An interesting sidelight is the biological link between Japan and the U.S. The only foreigners that Japanese marry in any numbers are Americans. In the long run, this may have much significance. Certainly, there is more in common between a modern urbanized Japanese and an American than there is between a Japanese and an Indian whose outlook is conditioned by caste and a religion that is not for export.

Article IX to Go?

In the defense field, the Japanese have laid the foundations for a powerful military establishment. I have been a guest aboard the 3,000-ton escort vessel *Teruzki* (Shining Moon), and talked with Japanese naval officers. The Maritime Self-Defense Force already includes 471 ships and 257 anti-submarine warfare aircraft. The Air Self-Defense Force is equipped with F-104J jet fighters, which are built under license in Japan. The Fuji Heavy Industries Co. has designed a purely Japanese fighter aircraft for sale overseas. Japanese submarines have stretched their sea legs to Pearl Harbor, where they have exercised with U.S. Pacific Fleet surface units. The National Defense College, based on the National War College in the United States, has a staff of strategic experts who are deeply involved in long-range studies In time, a strong edifice will be built on this foundation. It is to the U.S interest that the Japanese defense capabilities be augmented as rapidly as possible. The Japanese should take over responsibility for anti-submarine warfare in the Sea of Japan.

For Japan fully to emancipate itself from the occupation era, it may be necessary to remove Article IX of the Japanese Constitution. This is the article which renounces war. The Japanese Supreme Court has approved apparent violations of the letter of this Article, by upholding the constitutionality of the U.S. military bases in Japan. But many Japanese say the Constitution should openly recognize the principle of national defense. Amendment of the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote of the Diet and a favorable majority vote in a special referendum.

It would be foolish for Americans to believe that Japan and the United States have a complete identity of national interest. The U.S. is only in part a Pacific-oriented nation. But the two countries have certain problems and needs in common. We are Japan's No. 1 customer; in turn, Japan is our chief customer, after Canada. It is to the advantage of both great Pacific nations to maintain that relationship. In addition, both countries need to keep the sea lanes open, to block Communist China from dominating the islands and rimland of Southeast Asia, and from turning the Indian Ocean—around which are rich trading opportunities—into a Red lake. On the basis of these mutual needs, the U.S. and Japan can cooperate closely. But the Japanese public has to be educated by the Japanese Government. Japan has to diminish the influence of the left-oriented organizations that can bring out the mobs as they did against President Eisenhower's planned trip to Japan and more recently against the arrival of the nuclear powered submarine *Seadragon* at Sasebo. This process of strategic awakening of the Japanese public may take years.

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How To Beat a Good Congressman

Simple. Just keep repeating, Birch . . . Bircher . . . Birchest . . . . No matter what the Fair Campaign Practices Committee says

NEAL FREEMAN

How are Republican candidates going to handle "the problem" of the John Birch Society in future campaigns? That problem, most Republicans agree, has resulted from the successful efforts of the Democrats to brand anyone who is a member of the John Birch Society, and anyone who is a friend or backer of any member of the John Birch Society, as someone who a) suspects Eisenhower might have been a Communist, b) wants Earl Warren impeached, c) agitates to get out of the United Nations (NOW), and d) favors repeal of the income tax.

JBS No Pressing Moral Problem

The problem first arose in 1961, when it was revealed in the nation's press that two Republican congressmen—the Californians John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand—were actually members of the JBS. Both were defeated for re-election, and the question was planted in the public mind: what should have been the attitude of other Republicans toward Rousselot and Hiestand?

The problem, as far as Republicans seeking public office were concerned, was primarily political. This is to say there was no pressing moral problem. Neither Rousselot nor Hiestand believed for a moment that Eisenhower was a Communist—the only truly deranged of the four positions for which Robert Welch is famous (there is nothing inherently *immoral* about advocating the impeachment of Earl Warren, U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations or the end of the income tax).

But the political problem is acute, as former New York Congressman Steven Derounian can testify. In the fall of 1961, Derounian toured the Far West for the Republican Congressional Committee, to sell his party to the people. He had been selected as a member of the touring Paul Revere panel because he was young, articulate, and possessed a "safe" Republican seat; he was among the best the Republican Party had to offer. At a meeting in Los Angeles on October 5, 1961, Derounian, subbing for absent panel chairman Mel Laird (Wis.), fielded a question of intense local interest: did the panel support the re-election of Rep. John Rousselot, whose Birch membership had become a matter of public knowledge?

Derounian replied that he and his fellow-panel members were in California to help Republicans get elected; Rousselot's membership in the Birch Society, Derounian asserted, was simply irrelevant to the important point, namely Rousselot's good record in the House. "We're here to sell Republicanism," said Derounian, "and there's room in our party for all shades of opinion." Derounian's colleagues on the panel, Reps. Peter Frelinghuysen (N.J.) and Robert Michel (Ill.), nodded their agreement. But when the press reported Derounian's remarks in Los Angeles and out across the wires to New York, the fuse was lit that finally bombed him out of his seat in Congress.

A year later, in the fall of 1962, Derounian ran for re-election. His Democratic-Liberal opponent George Soll undertook to link Derounian with the Birch Society. What was Soll's line? Why, that Derounian had flown all the way to California in order to campaign for members of the Society.

As the campaign progressed, local weeklies in Long Island's 3rd Congressional District began to carry little Soll ads recalling the Derounian California trip. Then full-page ads appeared quoting (out of context) the Congressman's remarks about Rousselot, under a glaring black headline: DEROUNIAN IS AN EMBARRASSMENT TO EVERY RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN IN NASSAU COUNTY.

Soll's forces directed a circular letter to the target localities, dubbing Derounian "Darling of the Birchites." A mailing piece predicted that Republicans "who could not see their party captured by the Birchites" would therefore vote against Derounian on November 6.

At first the Congressman and his managers ignored the charges. The District ranked high in educational attainment and, they believed, the voters would surely see through the tactic.

But it got worse. A rumor spread: Derounian's 1961 California trip had been made *under Birch auspices.* When the late, astute Alicia Patterson (publisher of the Liberal Long Island daily *Newsday*) heard the rumor, she promptly relayed it to Derounian—who just as promptly branded it the "complete fabrication" it was.

Demand Stop to Smear

On October 18, 1962 he issued a statement:

"Once and for all," Derounian said, "here is how I stand on the John Birch Society." He was not a member, had never been a member, had never been asked to become a member, and would refuse if asked. He had not asked for nor been offered Birch support, and would not accept it if offered. His total opposition to the Welch positions on Eisenhower, Warren, the UN and the income tax were well known. He demanded that Soll stop his smear attacks.

The big issue in 1962 was Cuba. Congressman Derounian (along with Sen. Kenneth Keating and others) had demanded a U.S. blockade against Soviet missiles and troops moving into Cuba. Soll denounced this proposal as dangerous jingoism; whereupon President Kennedy pulled the rug

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from under his feet by setting up just such a blockade.

Soll never recovered. On Election Day, Derounian won his sixth term by a 27,000-vote (59%) margin—up from 56% in 1960.

Renominated unopposed in 1964, Derounian's standing was high. He had served twelve years. At 46, he ranked high among Republicans in seniority. He was a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee (whose Democratic Chairman, Wilbur Mills, had complimented Derounian's contributions as "significant"). At a testimonial in June, big-wigs turned out to praise him. Richard Nixon and House leaders Bob Wilson and Mel Laird spoke to a packed house. Eisenhower, Goldwater, Rockefeller, Javits, Keating, Morton, Bill Miller and others sent laudatory statements.

'1964: Replay, Louder'

As the Democrats unlimbered their national campaign in the summer of 1964, however, it became clear that the key word would be fear—of losing Social Security benefits, of nuclear war, of economic depression, of fascism—all of which would come to pass if Goldwater and his fellow extremists were elected. Derounian's opponent, one Lester Wolff, caught the beat and joyfully tuned his campaign to it. (Wolff, a peppery little publicity man, sports a thick mustache, a Sherlock Holmes pipe, a Dick Tracy trenchcoat, and until recently, quotation marks around his middle initial, "L.") Although Derounian's hold on his constituency was called "unbudgeable" by a national weekly, and his district classified as "safe Republican" by another, the fact is that Wolff had one decided advantage that prompted the Democratic National Committee to predict that New York's 3rd would go Democratic.

Wolff (like virtually all Democratic candidates) had been advised to "run against Goldwater," by characterizing his opponent as a carbon copy of Goldwater. President Johnson would pre-empt the "middle ground," shoving Goldwater out to the far right—and with him all Republicans who could be tied securely to him. Any Democrat who could pull off this trick and grab the middle of the road had a good chance, Democratic strategists said, even in rock-bound Republican districts.

Derounian for UN Bond Issue

Derounian had made this tactic especially available to Wolff. He had been among the "fearless five" (out of 92) N.Y. delegates to the Republican Convention who had backed Goldwater—and he had seconded (on nation-wide TV) the nomination of Goldwater's choice, N.Y. Representative William E. Miller, for Vice President (a courtesy Miller had personally requested of his House colleague and longtime friend).

Derounian's support for Goldwater, Wolff reasoned, could be the veteran Congressman's undoing. Wolff promptly assigned Goldwater's lifetime voting record to Derounian. It made no difference that Derounian's voting record differed from Sen. Goldwater's in a number of respects (Derounian had voted for the Trade Expansion Act, the Johnson tax cut, and the UN Bond issue, all of which measures Goldwater had opposed), and that neither man was connected with the Birch Society.

FCPC 'Study of Smear: 1962'

It was inevitable that the 1961 California trip would be trotted out again—and so it was, although Wolff usually insisted on dating it 1962. Every-

Rep. Lester L. Wolff

body joined in the act. Letters-to-the-editor would appear, with no purpose other than to revive the image of Derounian-the-Rousselot-fan, an association that had become more scandalous in the light of Rousselot's promotion from mere member of the JBS to national public relations director of it. It is probably safe to say that the casual voter (*i.e.*, the majority) came to think of Derounian as an ardent Birch supporter, even if, for whatever reason, probably irrelevant, he had not joined the organization and had never subscribed to its most notorious positions.

"I want the people to get to know how much of a radical right-winger this Derounian is," Wolff blared to the press. Derounian at first decided to ignore this type of attack—believing that Wolff's charges, like Soll's, would die of malnutrition.

After all, the 1961 trip was now two years deeper into history, and the voters of the District had already rejected the alleged link. Derounian's strong anti-Birch statement of October 1962 still stood (and would be referred to constantly in Derounian's 1964 speeches). Finally, for insurance, Derounian's Citizens Committee had filed (in 1963) a formal complaint against Soll's insinuations—with the bipartisan Fair Campaign Practices Committee, whose board members at that time included Leonard W. Hall, James A. Farley, and Cardinal Cushing of Boston. Their findings were scheduled for publication in the fall of 1964.

The Fair Practices report entitled "Study of Smear: 1962" was released in late September. To Derounian's delight it not only condemned the "soft on Birchism" tactic that Soll had used (and Wolff was now using) but specifically categorized him (Derounian) as one of eight major "Smear Targets in 1962." Said the FCPC:

> After smarting for decades at the glib reactionary equation *Liberal equals socialist equals communist*, liberals may be sympathized with when they confront the temptation to lash back with an equally false *conservative equals radical right equals fascist*. Yet loose labeling of everyone to the right of one's own position in the spectrum as radical rightist can only pollute the political atmosphere until no rational argument can be possible. More than a suggestion of this was demonstrated in 1962 when conservative candidates in a number of instances were described explicitly as 'Birchers' or 'pro-Birchers' on the basis of nothing more substantial than accusation and association.

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The smear of Derounian was a perfect case in point. In a segment headed "Soft on Birchism," the Fair Campaign report described it:

> A Republican Congressman from an Eastern suburb, noted for his 'no-nonsense' conservatism but fair-minded approach, stumped the country on behalf of fellow-Republicans. These included one avowed Birch member, of whom the Eastern Congressman said his voting record was important, not his Birch membership. In his own campaign, Democrats called him 'the darling of the Birchites,' denounced his alleged Birch support, and appealed to Republicans 'who could not see their party captured by the Birchites' to defeat him. (The incumbent nevertheless won.)

Birchism Charge Expanded

FCPC policy forbids the identification of smear targets by name, but the facts and quotations (taken directly from Soll material) established beyond doubt that the victimized "Republican Congressman from an Eastern suburb" was Steve Derounian.

Derounian's leaders immediately fired off a documented complaint to the FCPC, protesting Wolff's expanded use in 1964 of the identical "soft-on-Birchism" charge condemned in 1962, and FCPC Executive Director Bruce L. Felknor transmitted the complaint to Wolff for reply. Wolff, who had declined to sign the Fair Campaign Practices Committee's Pledge (to which Derounian had subscribed for years), did not immediately reply.

In a debate at the Bethpage Jewish Center, Wolff charged Derounian with supporting, and accepting the support of, the Birch Society. Brushing aside the Congressman's reiterated denials, Wolff dramatically waved photostats of the Los Angeles papers of October 6, 1961, snarling at Derounian: *"Don't try to kid the people that you are not tied up with the John Birch Society."*

One newspaperman stood up for the beleaguered Congressman. Martin Weiss, in the *Westbury Times*, asserted that "some of the stuff" from Wolff's camp was "getting scurrilous," and that Wolff's attempt to link Derounian with the John Birch Society was "overcooked." But Weiss had little support from the rest of the press.

Meanwhile, ignoring the FCPC finding that Soll's "soft-on-Birchism" charges were unfair characterizations, Wolff replied to Director Felknor that Derounian had campaigned in California for two . . . etc., etc. Furthermore, said Wolff, in stupefying disregard of the facts, Derounian "has never disavowed Birch support"! Felknor let it be known to Derounian's camp that if Wolff continued his attacks, and they appeared serious enough to be potentially decisive, the FCPC would take further action, which might include more pointed warnings to Wolff or an effort to stimulate informed press coverage of the incident.

Wolff responded with an elaborate four-page circular hand-distributed to the target localities, blasting Derounian/Goldwater for "double-crossing" the American people by voting "wrong" on a number of important issues. Wolff's circular transcribed Goldwater's voting record, while telling the people it was Derounian's.

Conservative, Not Extremist

While Wolff was busy "polluting the political atmosphere until no rational argument was possible" (in the words of the final FCPC report) Derounian undertook a reply. In a paid political column inserted in every district paper, he listed his voting record. In another, entitled "Conservative? Yes. Extremist? No," he outlined his philosophy. He explained his stand on the John Birch Society this way:

The Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan, Derounian said, were both *subversive* organizations, so listed by the Attorney General because they preach and practice illegal acts. The Birch Society was *not* on the subversive list because it does *not* practice or preach illegal acts.

"Never having had any connections with the John Birch Society," Derounian emphasized, "all I know about it is what I read in the press. To say otherwise is a lie—a lie which my opponent has already repeated more than once. It has been reported that John Birchers (their leader, at least) claim that Dwight Eisenhower was a conscious pro-Communist, that Chief Justice Earl Warren should be impeached, that we should abandon and eject the UN, that all income taxes should be abolished at once, etc."

"I strongly disagree with all these ideas. That's my privilege—but it is the privilege of the John Birchers to entertain these ideas if they choose. When we start to punish people for unpopular ideas, rather than illegal acts, American liberty is in real danger."

Wolff had now been directly challenged to prove his stated charge that Congressman Derounian was "tied up" with the Birch Society. What

Steven B. Derounian

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would he do? Why, simply go on repeating the charges.

In a series of full-page ads throughout the District, Wolff dismissed Derounian's disclaimer of Birch connections. "Desperate Steve Derounian," he teased, has contracted "a convenient case of political amnesia."

In the final week of the campaign, too late for an answer, Wolff fired his last salvo: a costly 20-page booklet mailed to every family in the District and leading off with the claim that "if anybody is further to the right than Goldwater . . . it's Derounian!" How so?

Birchism—'Soft on Communism'!

"Goldwater just accepts support from the Birchites," howled the Wolff headline, while "Derounian *actually* campaigned for two Birchite Congressmen." And sure enough, one final time—"Back in 1962 [there was 1962 again] Derounian went so far as to take the stump in California in behalf of the candidacies of two Republican Congressmen who were admitted members of the John Birch Society—John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand. Rousselot is now national public relations director of the John Birch Society."

And what else? "Goldwater merely wants to spend huge sums on obsolete aircraft," Wolff charged, but "Derounian voted against [a] vital military appropriation." Oh? It turned out to be not a defense bill at all, but a 1959 vote against a Space Agency fund request that Derounian had felt was too expensive. (He had voted *for* every Defense Department appropriation since he'd been in Congress.) "Is this the way to protect our country against Communist imperialism? Does it make sense to look for Communists under every bed at home and not see the clear danger that comes from abroad?" That wrapped it up. According to Wolff, Derounian was not only "soft on Birchism" and somehow "tied in with" the Birch Society, but he was in some dark way *"soft on Communism"!*

On Election Night, so disastrous for the Republican national ticket, Derounian appeared to have bucked the tide. He held a reduced—but nevertheless strong—9,800-vote lead as he moved into Great Neck and Roslyn, the two areas where Wolff had pounded away most relentlessly on the *Derounian-Birch* theme. Even if they tripled the 2,400-vote Democratic plurality they'd given to Soll in 1962, Derounian would still win a seventh term.

It wasn't to be. Roslyn fell to Wolff by 3,600 votes, while Great Neck gave the Democrat-Liberal a stunning 8,800-vote margin—a combined 12,400-vote edge which erased Derounian's lead in the rest of the District and gave Wolff the election by 2,600 votes: 50.7% of the more than 190,000 cast.

The success of the operation against Derounian opens up infinite possibilities for waging war against conservative congressmen. How many GOP congressmen backed the re-election of Hiestand-Rousselot? Just about all of them. Why? For the same reason that Goldwater backed the re-election of Senator Javits: party regularity. It may be that association with the Birch Society, however attenuated, has become, thanks as much to the unconscionable opportunism of the Wolffs as to the eccentricities of Robert Welch, politically disqualifying, at least in certain quarters of the country. There appears to be no rational shield against such demagogy as Wolff's. What is it about the JBS that scandalizes? Its founder's positions on Eisenhower (Commie), Warren (impeach him), the income tax (repeal it), and the UN (get out)?

Derounian disagrees with Welch on all these vital matters. Suppose one disagreed with the Communist Party on a) dialectical materialism, b) historical determinism, c) socialism, and d) Leninist tactics. But not about other things. What "other" things does the CP identify itself with in America? Civil rights and social welfarism. Do those who back civil rights and social welfarism lend themselves to the charge that they are soft on Communism? Derounian and other conservatives share to some extent the opinions of the Birch Society on anti-statism at home and anti-Communism abroad: is he therefore, in any significant way, a Bircher, a Birchsymp?

The burden of the charge here is moral, not political. It suggests that anyone associated with an associate of any organization whose leader takes the positions Welch has taken, should be drummed out of political life on the grounds of an underdeveloped sense of discrimination. Not every moral bearing is laid down by divine law. In politics, they are a reflection of moral coordinates that are highly mobile. Coordinates whose positions are much affected by the stimulations of watchful opportunists. It would be unthinkable to try to defeat a Democrat running for the Presidency merely on the grounds that he is running under the same party label as Ross Barnett and George Wallace. But it became unthinkable, in the eyes of the majority in Long Island's 3rd Congressional District in 1964, to vote for a man who endorsed-the-election-of-a-man-who - belongs - to - an - organization - whose-head-has-branded-Eisenhower a-Communist. It is a matter of values and of hierarchy: the voter considers it less significant that Ross Barnett is a racist, than that John Kennedy, running under the same party auspices, was not one. In Long Island they considered it less significant that Derounian never, by word or deed, suggested any sympathy for the notion that Eisenhower is a Communist, than that Derounian endorsed the candidacy of a man who belongs to an organization whose head does believe such a thing. The voters of Ohio believe it less important that Senator Steve Young associates with a Communist front group (the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee) than that he is not a Communist . . .

Deposee Derounian's Future

What of the future? How far can the condemned association attenuate? May Steve Derounian appear on the same platform with a member of the JBS? Would he be permitted to broadcast on the Manion Forum of the Air, whose director is a member of the National Council of the Birch Society? Must he shrive himself beyond his oft-spoken repudiation of the distinctive planks of the JBS—by denouncing every single member of the Society, as one would denounce every member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Steve Derounian has until next year—when he may try to recapture his seat—to decide. The alternative, that Congressman Wolff will make it easy for him by showing a decent regard for the fundamental distinctions, is unlikely.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Plight of the Colored Clerisy

No one in these United States has a harder row to hoe, these days, than temperate and conscientious professors and clergymen who happen to be colored. Some recent incidents at Selma, Alabama, may serve as illustration.

Kirk

During the last days of May, Selma University — a Negro institution — was troubled by zealots of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the most rowdy and radical of all "civil rights" groups. (A high percentage of its members are not colored, but white radicals of the more raffish variety, not a few with Communist connections.) The SNCC freaks endeavored to organize a "sleep-in" in university buildings, and, in the phrase of their local organizer, a student, "to successfully stop all movement and administration at Selma University until demands are met."

Were the SNCC fanatics demonstrating against Governor Wallace? Oh no. Their hatred was directed against Dr. James Owens, the Negro president of this Negro university. Dr. Owens' crime was that he refuses to sanction racial and "civil rights" demonstrations on campus, and will take no part himself in such affairs as SNCC, CORE, and the other radical organizations instigate. Speaking from the steps of the administration building, the student leader insulted the president and the president's wife. When a Negro professor of mathematics replied hotly to the SNCC leader, a white SNCC photographer snapped the professor's picture. I am happy to report that the professor then hit the photographer in the nose. No charges were filed.

The next day, SNCC demonstrators from off the campus—many of them white and bearded—marched round the administration building. Doubtless to their chagrin, these nuisances found themselves picketed, for a change, by the Selma University students, supporting President Owens. That administrator persuaded the students to disperse, but the outsiders continued to tramp insolently about the campus.

Many colored clergymen are angry and alarmed at the tactics of "civil rights" extremists. In Bogalusa, Louisiana, the Reverend W. J. Nelson, of the Mount Moriah Baptist Church (colored), spoke out some weeks ago against CORE, which has been vilifying him and other pastors for not becoming "militants." "I cannot stand idly by and let men, women, boys, and girls drag the names of God's ambassadors in the slime and filth of intimidation," Mr. Nelson said. He especially denounced CORE's use of children as a front, telling colored young people that they must "stop jumping on every bandwagon that comes to town. . . . It is shocking and disgraceful to see these parents allowing their children not yet in their teens to be used as tools and instruments in the spreading of discord and disunity."

Negro Pastor Opposes Dr. King

But back to Selma, still full of extremist agitators who only gradually will drift away to more profitable fields. This writer has received a report from a professor-friend who spent some days in Selma recently. My colleague made a friend there: the Reverend C. C. Hunter, pastor of Zion Methodist Church, aged 74, a learned Negro clergyman born in North Carolina and educated in New York. Mr. Hunter looks about 40, my informant reports, and is a proud man (in a good sense), quick-witted, spry, pleasant, and cheerful.

Mr. Hunter has fought the "civil rights" extremists with all his energy. His opposing Dr. Martin Luther King at one time reduced his congregation to eight people; but now the members of the church are coming back, as their pastor had predicted they would. Such defections have left the Zion Methodist Church of Selma in desperate financial straits, however.

"The Negroes of Selma don't know what they want" says Mr. Hunter, "and Yankees don't know what we need. We need God. Only Christianity will save this world. These demonstrations have only hurt us." Dr. King, Mr. Hunter adds, "has set back this town twenty years. He has destroyed the confidence that we have built up between the Negro and the white man."

The SNCC radicals, the Reverend C. C. Hunter observes, are "from the lowest rung of the ladder; they are trash, just trash. The kind of integration they want doesn't help the Negro at all." Economic advance is what the Negro really requires, Mr. Hunter argues. Years ago, Mr. Hunter was regarded by some as a dangerous fanatic, for advocating economic advancement for the Negro. Now, changing his front but not his ground, he opposes Negro intolerance as he has long opposed white intolerance.

James M. Nabrit, president of Washington's internationally known, predominantly Negro Howard University, took the same stand a month or so ago in a speech warning against local Communists who sought "to cloak themselves in the mantle of civil righters and plot and plan to disrupt our fight for justice and full citizenship. We must beware of people who come to us like Greeks bearing gifts. They do not care about the Negro people. They do not love Howard. They do not believe in civil rights for anyone. . . . They must be unmasked for the frauds they are."

Whatever enduring gains the American Negro makes must be the work of such courageous educators and clergymen. The self-intoxicated fanatics who aspire to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm will enjoy some months' or years' notoriety. Yet in the long run, the achievement of conciliation and improvement of conditions must lie with those strong-principled colored leaders who live by the law of love, not by the demagogue's hatred.

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Are Americans More Comfortable with Lyndon Johnson?

A Filipino reporter muses on the differences between the Kennedy and Johnson styles and concludes that, by and large, Americans are more comfortable with LBJ

QUIJANO DE MANILA

The age of Johnson has shaped up enough for a Boswell to mark the difference—and distance—between the Great Society and the New Frontier. Kennedy caught a mood in American society and, in response to that mood, projected or sought to project, an ultimate in refinement: the understated style.

Kennedy Cult Persists

The trend toward that exquisite extreme antedated Kennedy but he capped and captured this minority movement in American culture and, as President, may be said to have made it the official trend of his era, transforming what had been the manner of a happy few into an ideal for the many. The New Frontier was partly a pioneering in the mazes of taste, manners, fashions, culturalism, and designs for living. From this viewpoint even the Peace Corps can be seen as an exercise in exoticism, an experimenting with experience: young people subjecting their sensibilities to outrageous ways of life to make themselves finer, keener receivers of all that life can offer—informed spirits capable of living a special style—as the epicure will subject his palate to strange dishes not merely from a craving for the exotic but to intensify his ability to distinguish flavors, sensations, nuances. The Peace Corps is an equivalent of Hemingway's World War I ambulance, which shaped his syntax.

When people speak of the Kennedy style they mean more than the man; they also mean Jackie's casual elegance, Frost at the Inaugural, Casals and the Nobel Prize winners at the White House, the new salons in Washington, and the popularization of the Ivy League look during the Kennedy period. In the brief time he ruled he created so definite a climate that even those who never personally breathed it can, when they visit his country now, tell that it's quite gone. This is not to say that Kennedy himself is gone. On the contrary, what a traveler in the United States today cannot but note is the extent and persistence of the Kennedy cult.

Everywhere one goes one finds his image—on streets, in shop windows, at doorways. In bookstores entire shelves are loaded from top to bottom with Kennedy books, and on a nearby wall is often a framed portrait of Jack and Jackie, in profile and in color. New York has given his name to its international airport. The Presidential campaign all but got mislaid last October in the excitement over the Warren Report on the assassination. In Washington people stood in line through a wet cold night to be first to get copies of the report; the next day the American press did such extensive and exhaustive analyses of the report, in issues that bulged twice or thrice the newspaper's usual size, that one thought nothing more could possibly be said on the report or the assassination. One thought wrong. On November 22, the first anniversay of the tragedy, there was, in press, pulpit and official statement, a fresh copious outpouring of regret, horror and interpretation, still another flow from a wound that clearly has not yet healed, a grief not yet stanched.

Yet one wonders: Is all this merely an extended wake, a watch over the body? What, actually, of the Kennedy style, the Kennedy climate, remains?

One might hazard the guess that Americans have, or had, an ambivalent attitude not toward the Kennedys but toward what they stood for. The fine style they set, though universally admired, may have been just too out of character for a people more famous for exuberance than subtlety; and one can detect a feeling of relief over the passing of rarefied airs and the coming of the grosser folksier climate the Johnsons brought back.

"She always wore gloves as though she were used to them; I never could," said Lady Bird Johnson of her predecessor; and in the remark two eras eye each other across a gulf. But Mrs. Johnson was speaking for the masses of American women who, at her words, must have suddenly realized that they, too, were not used to gloves, or the bouffant hairdo, or casual chic, or Casals music; and gratefully said goodbye to all that, turning from the New Frontier of Harvard accents and Peace Corpsmen to the older one of cowboys and hominy grits.

Sophisticate LBJ Turned Folksy

Lyndon Johnson has been no less shrewd than his wife in dramatizing the gap that separates him and his predecessor having, one supposes, smelled a shift in the American temper, a wearying with the effort to develop patrician tastes and manners. A sophisticated man, Johnson, during the campaign, turned himself into a folksy one, to the dismay of many of his admirers, who grumbled that the folksiness was obviously merely put on. But Johnson knew what he was doing: he was expressing (to use a favorite term of the campaign) a consensus—and the consensus was apparently against suavity and in favor of howdy pardner. The landslide vote proved that Johnson had struck the right chord, and he has been hitting it ever since, his loudest twangs being those epic fiestas on the ranch in Texas, where guests plow through slabs of steak and pie and barbecued ribs to the strains of hill-

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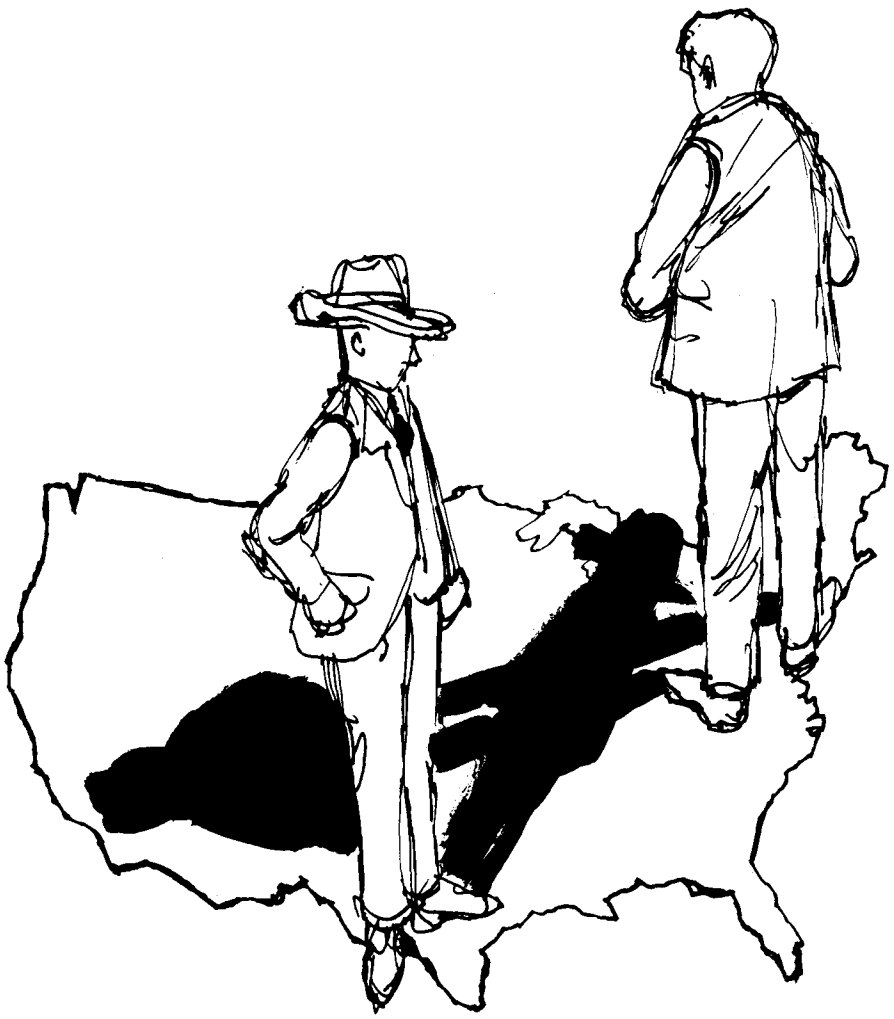
billy, cowboy and Mexican music, with virtuosi like Eddie Fisher handling the vocals. The Johnson style meant a business suit at an Inauguration that also featured Carol Channing and Barbra Streisand, Broadway stars more renowned for volume of voice than for any distinction in the art of theater.

It's quite a distance from Casals' cello to cowboy guitars, and from Frost reading a poem to *'Hello Dolly'* and *'Funny Girl'*; but the American consensus is solidly on the side of Lyndon Johnson—which is what makes the current American scene so puzzling to an outsider. He can see, on the one hand, a quite thorough abolition of Kennedyism in American public life (this despite the survival in Washington of two Kennedy brothers) and, on the other hand, a most fervent Kennediolatry permeating the length and breadth of the land. The man is remembered, but Americans very clearly prefer to forget the famous style they profess to admire so much.

The Johnsonian emphasis will be on emphasis, if the *Great* in Great Society is any indication. Luxuriating in the most prosperous period of their history, Americans are retrieving the vocabulary of the 1920s, which dearly loved superlatives: greatest, biggest, richest, mightiest, most. Bigness, that most American of words, which fell into disfavor in the post-Babbitt era, has been rehabilitated and now gleams as irridescent as current fashion. The size of the American President's personal fortune and of his holdings in Texas has inspired uproarious elephant jokes in which one detects more pride than prejudice, certainly naught of the fury against great wealth of the 1930s. The Johnson campaign was a nightmare of statistical superlatives: the number of places visited, the number of hands shaken, the number of miles traveled, the number of hours spent sleepless. And through all this thundered Johnson's own delight in the big figure: the biggest crowds, the loudest cheers, the fastest trips, the longest programs studded with the biggest stars of stage, screen, radio and TV. Because he does it with such gusto, Johnson has restored glory to the Tall Tale and the Big Talk. In Chicago, a businessman recounts that



Johnson was telling an audience that he would do this and that and the other to create the Great Society and got so carried away by his own enumeration that he ended up exclaiming: "Now, don't you think I have been a *great* President?"

This is certainly miles away from the Understated Style: but delicate souls that wince at such thunder and at the thought of those slabs of meat and pie at the Texas ranch must yet admit that, in this also, Johnson expresses a consensus that the more elegant oratory and menus at the White House of Kennedy's time did not. The gastronomic fact in the United States today is the Hero Sandwich: a whole loaf of bread stuffed with such quantities of meat, fish, shrimp, vegetables and sauces that one must, as Americans say, "wrap one's mouth around it."

The renewed infatuation with bigness is symphonied on the streets, where the cars one sees are to congestion what the Hero Sandwich is to digestion. If there ever was a craze for the European small car it's dead now; and the small car moves in the American big city at its own peril, like a rabbit in a world of mammoths.

Nothing Dainty about Americans

The mammoths are, one feels, the "real" America, an America going back to its epic beginnings, the America of Bunyan and buffalo, of Moby Dick and the Great West. Daintiness must always be foreign to a nation whose very properties are bigness, exuberance and reverberation. In this, the Kennedy era was a falsification of the American genius;

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and the revolt, the reaction against it, is wholly justified. Nobody has remarked that the other obsessive term of the campaign—"the mainstream of American life"—implies a deflection (or fear of a deflection) from that mainstream which cannot be blamed on Mr. Goldwater, since he has never been in power; and the feeling that, in fact, Mr. Goldwater and President Johnson, however poles apart they may seem, were actually running not against each other but against the previous Administration, since both of them represented a return to American backwoods. Much has been made of Goldwater's unhappy addiction to hyperbole, but if his so-called "extreme" statements are un-American, then Paul Bunyan and the tall-tale spinners of American folklore as well as such orators as Patrick Henry and William Jennings Bryan were un-American too. Johnson, by dissociating himself from Kennedy restraint and sophistication, and by emphasizing folksiness and his Texas background, was, like Goldwater, recreating a picture of America as a land of Moral Mothers, Home Cooking and the Big Talk. The accent of his campaign was the same as that of Goldwater's; the difference was only in degree (Goldwater's was more acute), not in nature. And Americans voted for what seemed to them the safer and sounder of two equally folksy men. By doing so, they repudiated, not Goldwater, but the dead man to whom the term folksy could certainly not be applied.

BG, LBJ Both for Apple Pie

It's possibly this kinship between the two living candidates that impelled more fastidious Americans (whose distaste was most sharply expressed by Dean Sayre of Washington) to clamor that they were not being offered a choice between two clear opposites (or, at least, dissimilars) but only a choice between politicians of a single stamp. How could there ever be any real argument or debate between Johnson and Goldwater? Both stand for apple pie. But one said that the other had a trigger finger that might spring the oven open before the pie was done, while he himself was perfectly willing to wait until the pie was cooling in the window. And the other feared that the pie might burn while his opponent waited so coolly.

Kennedy meant tension: a striving toward frontiers not quite on the American map, and therefore risky. Goldwater might have meant tension too; because he might have insisted on veering back to frontiers already finished and done with, and therefore sinister. But with Johnson, one had both the American map and status quo, the unswapped horse in midstream, the unrocked boat.

American affluence can be smelled, seen, heard, tasted, touched. One cannot just move through it; one wallows. In 1964, the personal incomes of Americans rose to the record annual rate of $502 billion. This crossing of the $500 billion mark was, said President Johnson, an historical milestone in the economic progress of the United States: "Never before in our history or in the history of any other country has there been such an outpouring of the means to buy the good things of life. And never before have so many people shared in this wealth. This is a tremendous achievement for the American people and for our free enterprise system."

The dazzle isn't dimmed by recent exposés of "poverty in the U.S." since one finds that even American standards of poverty are higher than those in the rest of the world. A Negro suburb in Washington that's spoken of as a slum turns out to be a neighborhood of large houses perched on lawn-covered embankments, with a car in every driveway, a super-market at the corner, and a traffic of baby carriages on the wide sidewalks. Downtown Charlotte in North Carolina is supposed to offer a typical picture of Southern penury: just off the shopping areas are decayed residences the Negroes have taken over; but the broken-down verandas and large untended grounds exude not so much the melancholy of indigence as of a way of life that has ended. Even Harlem in New York is not the cramped squalid ghetto of the world's imagination. Here are some of the widest, handsomest avenues in New York, and block upon block of brownstone houses that look as if they could stand for another century or two, so proud and firm is their structure. If the alleys between them don't bear looking into, the interiors are noble by slum standards in, say, the Philippines; and the general air of Harlem is of spaciousness and grace.

The visitor from a poor country ends up thinking that the American idea of poverty is a lack of paint on houses, and begins to doubt that even poverty in the Appalachians is anywhere close to his own idea of privation.

To a visitor, American affluence is like big soft pillows into which he helplessly sinks. Everything seems so much easier than at home. What a delight to pick up a telephone and never get a busy signal, or to turn on a tap and get instant abundant water. How sweet to walk a world free from dust, flies and mosquitoes, and provided with ample sidewalks where no ragged babies go begging or scavenging. One is never very far from park, museum, library, or cultural center. One sees all these means to the good life being used, and used extensively. The snort at drugstore or department store literature (the cheap paperbacks) gets hushed when one notes that the shelves devoted to crime and sex thrillers are outnumbered by shelves carrying a more serious assortment of reading that ranges from A to Z, from Aquinas to Zen.

American Prices, Wages High

The visitor unused to such abundance gets a constant feeling of sinking, of surfeit. The argument is that American prices seem high to us because we don't view them from the very high American wage levels: prices may be high but Americans earn enough to be able to afford them. The argument, however, can be looked at from the other end: that Americans *have* to earn that much to be able to afford two-dollar haircuts and seven-dollars-an-hour plumbers—and it must be rather a strain to keep up with the prices of just those lowly services alone. The moment an American drops below his society's standard of living he can't even afford a haircut or plumber.

The claim that, in the undeveloped countries, there's a fantastic distance between rich and poor is only superficially true. In the Philippines, a man may become rich enough to own

(Continued on p. 564)

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1914—Tragedy of the West

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

The theme of this meaty little book is summed up in its two concluding sentences: "The First World War was the great break with the past. That is its fundamental meaning."

The past to which the author refers is the century between the Congress of Vienna and 1914—a century of comparative peace, or at least one which saw no world wars; the century of European world dominance, during which imperial Europe both shaped and ruled the international political order and the international economy, save within the "closed preserve" of the Americas. This Old Order, M. Albrecht-Carrié reminds us, was "irretrievably undermined" by World War I, which established the fact of American world power and the preconditions for the emancipation of the dependent peoples—though neither of these effects was widely realized until a Second World War had been fought to bring them into focus.

The author sees these two wars as part of a continuing cycle, with the interval between them as a mere armistice during which the war-weakened Old Order struggled in vain to re-establish itself and failed. The old machinery of the Concert of Europe, the balance of power, could not be replaced by the jerry-built system of small-power alliances which France strove to create. America had withdrawn from Europe and bemused itself with such devices as "the pathetic attempt to legislate the United States away from the rest of the planet"; Britain put misplaced faith in the League of Nations; France alone could prevent the rearmament of Germany while also maintaining the *cordon sanitaire* against Soviet Communism.

The Meaning of the First World War by René Albrecht-Carrié. Prentice-Hall, $4.95

To the old balance of power system, the author pays due respect—as any conscientious historian must to a system which gave mankind a hundred years of exemption from world conflict. But the balance, he points out, has to impose a real check on would-be peace-breakers. It had to include all the great European powers: Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to begin with, later substituting Germany for Prussia and adding Italy. And its management required that these states should have effective and responsible rulers, whether democratic or autocratic. He illustrates this point by showing how Bismarck—considering Germany a "satisfied" state after 1871—sought to maintain comfortable relations with Russia and Austria-Hungary, conciliate Britain, and keep France in relative isolation. Bismarck avoided provocative colonial or naval ambitions for Germany; he would have avoided the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine if he had been able to. But with the accession of William II to the German throne, Bismarck's careful piloting was replaced by a series of illusions in lesser minds. Germany must have a great navy; Germany must have colonies; Germany must be accorded "a place in the sun." Worst of all, Germany must keep on making threatening noises about these things: 1870 had seen Germany replace France as the strongest Continental power; now Germany was challenging the sea power of Britain.

THE RESULT—a drawing together of Britain and France—was inevitable, and the German error was compounded by German refusal to renew Bismarck's "reinsurance treaty" with Russia, which produced the Franco-Russian alliance. Louder and louder rose the German cries of "encirclement." M. Albrecht-Carrié's comment is perceptive: "That Germany entertained deliberately aggressive intent would be difficult to establish. Yet her actions tended to convey that impression to others. . . . *The picture of reality, true or false, is of greater importance than the reality itself.*" An equally perceptive American writer, Colonel George Lincoln of West Point, has said that "national power, until it is actually used, is pretty much what other people think it is," and the same may well be said of national intentions about the use of power.

M. Albrecht-Carrié has a clearer view of the political and economic aspects of his subject than of the interlocking factors of strategy and military policy. This occasionally blurs an otherwise lucid flow of reasoning, though at the end of the book —where today's consequences of World War I come under discussion —this reviewer feels a sense of grateful relief to find a historical analyst who does not take refuge in the oft-presented theory that "of course" nuclear weapons and their awesome capabilities have changed everything and the future is thus clouded in impenetrable darkness. M. Albrecht-Carrié manages to present a closely reasoned historical thesis that reaches

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our own era without so much as mentioning the power of the atom, and does so with acceptable logic. But in the course of developing his central theme, his presentation would have been helped by taking more notice of the military ingredients.

THUS, IN DESCRIBING the beginning of World War I, he gives the cruel imperatives of the mobilization plans of the continental powers less attention than they deserve. He describes the operational details of Germany's "Schlieffen plan" without seeming to realize that from the moment the Kaiser was induced by his military advisers to give the order for general mobilization, the remorseless operation of this plan made it *inevitable* that the main weight of the German Army should instantly be thrown against France through Belgium; thereafter German policy was the prisoner of a purely military conception with no leeway for sober second thoughts. However, he sees with clarity the fatal effect of Russia's economic weakness, which — after Turkey's entry into the war on the German side blocked access to the Russian Black Sea ports—could not be made up for by Allied supplies. The Russian masses could not be adequately armed and munitioned; the resulting slaughter paved the way for the Russian revolutions of 1917. The Allied failure to break through the Dardanelles in 1915 has been widely commented on as the prime cause of this disaster; but our author shrewdly notes that the ancient jealousies of Imperial Russia may have prevented Russian forces being used in a joint expedition directed at Constantinople, which might have made all the difference. The Czar's advisers could not bear to think of establishing the British Navy in control of the Straits, which they had so ardently coveted for themselves.

In commenting on the Allied reactions to the March revolution, which generally assumed that the result would be continued Russian participation in the war, our author sounds a note of warning. While in London and Paris, and in the United States as well, this chimera was being entertained, Lenin and his companions were on their way to Russia in the famous sealed train, by German connivance. "It was an interesting arrangement," notes Albrecht-Carrié, "a calculation—or a gamble—wholly logical on both sides; *it was also one in which one may see running the long thread of Russo-German common action, at times in the most startling and unexpected circumstances.*"

Now there is a notion which bears turning over in the mind, even today. In this case, Ludendorff thought Lenin would contribute to increased chaos in Russia, furthering a quick German victory in the East; Lenin fully understood this, but counted on establishing a firm base for his Russian revolution from which it might even spread to Germany. The point to remember is that German-Russian common action proved possible, even with a war in progress; and that the deep motivation was on the one hand German confidence that Germany could eventually take command of the combined resources of both nations *against the West*, matched on the other hand by Russian confidence in Russian ability to do that very thing. History shows us other disturbing examples of this tendency.

M. ALBRECHT-CARRIE lays considerable stress on the fortunate coincidence in time of the Russian Revolution and of United States entry into World War I as a belligerent. This tipped the scale of resources overwhelmingly in favor of the Allies. Also it brought the American people into the world arena, showed them the true relation of their national power to that of other nations, and drove them unwillingly to the hard school of experience to learn the lessons that they had somehow never realized must one day be learned as the price of survival. "It was indeed possible," the author observes of the period immediately following the end of the First World War, "for the United States to recover the sense of a return to 'normalcy.' Yet it was illusion, for once American power had been brought to bear upon the course of world affairs, with decisive effects, retreat from the consequences was impossible."

There have, of course, been many Americans who have been trying to retreat from those consequences ever since 1918; that today there are fewer such wishful thinkers than there used to be is the measure of the progress of our national schooling which began with the First World War. For a brief and lucid analysis of the political setting and causes of that war, and of its meaning in terms of American policies and responsibilities as they are now evolving, M. Albrecht-Carrié's concise little volume is most warmly recommended.

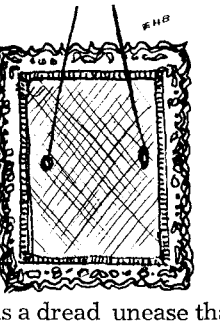
Who's Alienated Now?

MAX GELTMAN

THE JEWISH intellectual in America has never had it so good. His novels top the best-seller lists; on Broadway he is represented by almost all the musical plays and dramas of the season; the Jewish Museum in New York has become the clearing house for all that is ultra-modern in the field of art; and he has finally breached the last fortress of resistance —the Academy—by becoming its chief spokesman for the newer sociolatry. No wonder Leslie Fiedler could say a little while back: ". . . Jewish intellectuals have discovered their Jewishness to be an eminently marketable commodity, their much vaunted alienation . . . a passport into the heart of Gentile culture."

Jews and Americans, by Irving Malin. Southern Illinois, $4.50

Yet, for all his success, the Jewish intellectual still feels himself a failure.



For all his breast - beating to gather attention to himself, which he has succeeded in doing to an extraordinary degree, he feels a dread unease that maybe he has not made it at all. The memory haunts him that for all the noise his counterparts made in the thirties with their proletarian visions and footling dreams not one is remembered today with any reverence or respect.

Will the same fate befall Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Leslie Fiedler, the late Isaac

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An Apology

FROM THE EDITORS OF NATIONAL REVIEW . . .

This pamphlet—grown now so large that it has become a little book in itself—represents a gross miscalculation on our part. It is our normal practice, when publishing an article we judge to be of more than usual interest, to notify our readers that it will be made available in reprint form. With the single exception of the first (Evelyn Waugh's) article, we failed to offer reprints of any of the material gathered together—for the first time—here. To be sure, Mr. Waugh's article had a brisk reprint sale after it first appeared, in December, 1962. But we were simply not prepared for the tremendous number of requests for the subsequent pieces, beginning with "Gnostics on a Train," and carrying right on through "Grammar of the Dialogue." Which is to say that we were not fully aware of the acute interest of our readers—of whatever faith—in the current uproar over religious reform.

So this our **apologia:** we've lumped everything together in this one ecumenical offering. We hope your friends enjoy it as much as you did.

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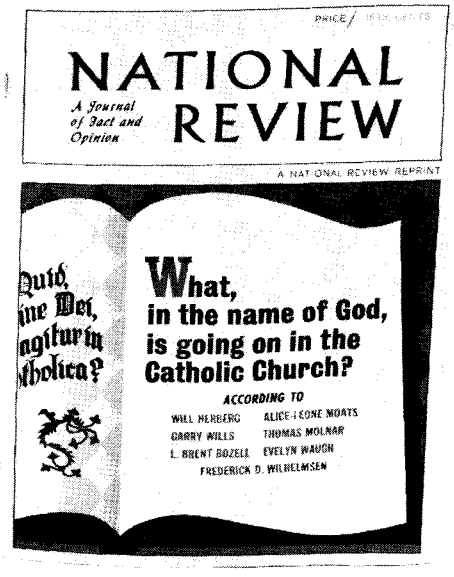

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The Word Made Flesch

DOREEN HUCKLESMUDGE

Transcribed and Paragraphed by Hugh Kenner

The ABC of Style: A Guide to Plain English, by Rudolf Flesch. Harper, $4.95

HELLO Janie gee its hot here you like this swishy paper? Mom gave me just tons of it so I'll write home next fall she says. Daddy had a cow and said all that weighs a ton and we'll need a truck to ship it to State and it was a silly present but Mom says it isn't everyday you graduate from Fillmore "Hi." She doesn't care if paper is heavy and neither do I its not surprising I mean its trees isn't it.

And guess what my Comp showed the "most improvement" in the semester and I got the prize you could of knocked me over with a paper clip. Miss Pallas even made a little speech about toiling upward through the night and she gave me this book its by Rudolf Flesch called the ABC of Style to help me keep on improving at State. Its simply fasinating such a comfort its about write like you talk I never thought books could be fasinating like that.

Stanley called it my vaddy maycome and I said what and he said its Latin but I dont think it looks like Latin. I mean not like Summer come Lawd or Habes Corpis which is practically like American words. Miss Pallas says American has a lot of Latin in it but Mr. Flesch says the best rule with foreign words is to leave them alone so I think I'll leave them alone to improve my Style. I mean you dont talk foreign words unless your a Foreigner of course. Mr. Flesch always makes it so simple not like Miss Pallas. Mr. Flesch keeps saying write it the way you talk. Thats what I always wanted to do but Miss Pallas says you should have a Topic Sentence.

That Stanley thinks he's so smart just because he's two years older than me and he's already been at college and last year he even joined YAF which Miss Pallas says is like socialists. I mean its a wonder Daddy lets him stay in the house. He was saying I thought Mr. Flesch was charismatic so I looked it up and showed him what Mr. Flesch says about charismatic he says its a fad word among intellectuals and Stanley says alright what do you say when you mean charismatic but really Janie who means charismatic I mean golly.

And what Mr. Flesch says about the Absolute Construction is I bet you can't remember a single instance when you heard someone use it in ordinary conversation. Stanley says Mr. Flesch frequents low conversations and I said he does not he said instance didn't he he didn't say time which would be low conversations. I think he'd have a cow if he had to listen to Stanley.

He says accelerate is just a long word for speed up and abiding is too stately for everyday use of course Janie he's so right who wants to use it everyday. Stanley just laughs and says if he'd been at Gettysburg he'd of banged Lincoln's nuckels when he used a word like forescore but golly Gettysburg isn't like everyday I mean really.

Its like a dictionary you just look up words and you learn so much. He says he collected thousands of examples from the New York Times and like that but he didn't use wellknown authors because he says if there's a difference in usage between J. D. Salinger and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. who is the better model? But there wouldn't be a difference in usage between the New York Times I mean it writes like it talks you can see that. Stanley says that means the vox pop is the paste that runs through the presses and I thought I'd see what Mr. Flesch says about vox pop but I couldn't find it I guess the New York Times didn't use it.

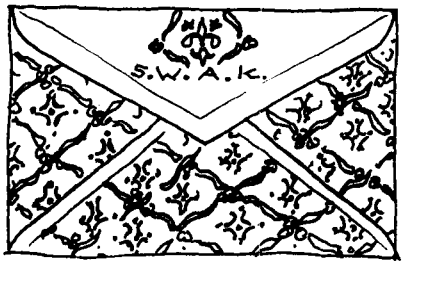
He says thus is *the* word that distinguishes bookish English from everyday English and if you want to improve your Style start by weeding out thus and I tried it but I didn't seem to find any to weed out so I guess my Style was showing Improvement anyway like Miss Pallas said. So I thought I'd just start reading around for hints and you learn so much.

Like Mr. Flesch says alright is really just All Right—I never thought of that did you Janie? which was how they used to spell it. But then he says nowadays people all write alright so its all right, golly that's a relief alright. I mean I'd hate for Miss Pallas to think I was getting confused just when I was showing such Improvement. I keep forgetting, Miss Pallas wont read my papers anymore I wonder what a professor looks like.

You only have forteen hours of classes a week, it should be a breeze, and fifteen weeks a semester, and 14 times 15 is 210 and four years is 1680. That's not much more than a year at Fillmore when you count Majorette's practise.

And folk dancing and going to Selma I can hardly wait only Daddy says mark his words next time it'll be Darien and reading good books like Pearl Buck I mean really having time to get the meaning out of them and I've always wanted to read Gone with the Wind.

Just think Janie only like a year at Fillmore only it'll be spread out till I'm 21 so I'll have lots of time for myself too and I'll be a teacher just like Miss Pallas!!! And I'll let the kids write like they talk just like Mr. Flesch with no Absolute Constructions and Stanley can have Absolute Cows if he likes I dont care.



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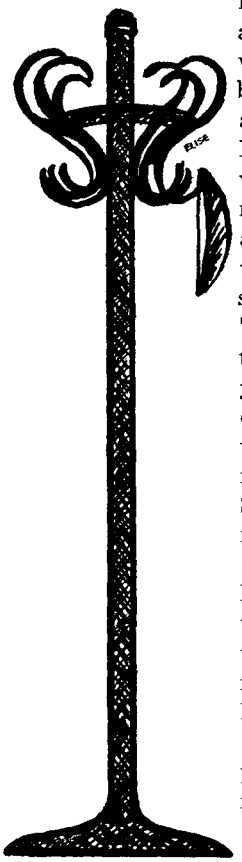
Rosenfeld, Delmore Schwartz and Karl Shapiro? Irving Malin in his new book, *Jews and Americans,* which treats largely of the works of these seven writers, thinks not. Why these particular seven? They were chosen, we are told, because "at one time or another each has consciously faced his Jewishness." Perhaps. Most of them, however, have rejected it because (with the exception of Fiedler) they find their Jewishness almost as much a burden as their Americanism is an embarrassment. Comfortable *and* lonely, Mr. Malin suggests they are waiting for God. If this is true it is only in the sense that they once waited for Lefty. They really want a god who will permit them to forsake their past: who will let them seize the day, as the title of one of Mr. Bellow's novels has it; and who will assure them the kind of future to satisfy any *schlemiehl.* Thus, when they invoke the Jewish anti-hero in an American myth; when they *howl* with Allen Ginsberg at the ancestral betrayal for not bringing him into a land of pot instead of into a land of plenty; when they dethrone God from the sky and set up the image of Cosmic Consciousness (as does Karl Shapiro); when they substitute the orgone box of Wilhelm Reich for the Ark of the Covenant they are not only facing up to their "Jewishness." they are belittling it, defaming it, and defying it. And when they do all these things, at the same time crying: *we are alienated of the earth,* then their alienation is just so much mockery—of themselves, their people, their country. Milton Hindus has called them "the Mockers" (*laitzim*).

MR. MALIN is sure the Jew is a "new culture hero." But he doesn't know why. "Most answers," he thinks, "are insufficiently spiritual." True enough. But then he tells us that the American Jew is a "specialist in alienation." Why? Who? Samuel Goldwyn? The publishers of the *Times*? Sandy Koufax? The Marx Brothers? Sammy Davis Jr.? Obviously, he means the Jewish intellectual. The book is thick with such generalizations. Thus he detects an ineluctable kinship between Jewish tradition and American realities through a series of dualities such as Heart and Head, Fathers and Sons, Land and Exile, which he claims is common to both when confronted with the essential myth-making of true literature. Proofs are adduced that are both far-fetched and ingenious. But after all the "dualities" are explored and all the dichotomies explained, the author comforts the Jewish-American intellectual by telling him that his "parochial tensions" are, indeed, "universal." With a striking lack of foresight he reassures him that, while he will never be as popular as those "inauthentic Jews who produce best-sellers about Central Park West," he will succeed, nevertheless, in a more important way if he shuns "easy Transcendence—the Reichian joy." Good enough, but at whom is this directed? After all, Saul Bellow made the best-seller lists, not Fanny Hurst with her "inauthentic Jews" from "Central Park West."



One of the real problems confronting the Jewish-American writer (not the writer in America who happens to be a Jew) is: can he contribute in a meaningful way to the mainstream of American literature at the same time that he employs a borrowed tongue to tell an essentially alien—not alienated—tale? It may be that T. S. Eliot was right when he said: "For the expression of imaginative reality, for truths of poetry and of religion, a man is best equipped when he uses the language of his ancestors . . . capable of conveying the messages of inherited imagination." At least one Yiddish-American critic, Elias Shulman, is not afraid to evoke the memory of "Old Possum" to "prove" his point that the best writing in America by a Jew is being done by Isaac Bashevis Singer in *Yiddish,* the language of his "inherited imagination." But against Eliot and Shulman one need only cite the example of Joseph Conrad who helped enrich English literature and the English

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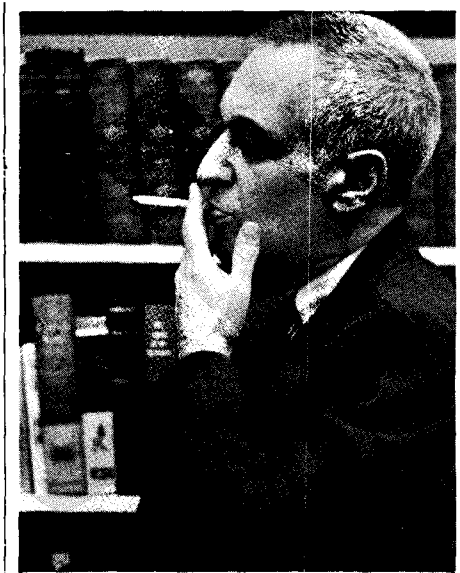
language despite his coming late to both. Of course Conrad never wrote as an Anglo-Pole; he left Polish themes to the Poles. In this sense Shulman is probably right. Conrad may have been uprooted, but he was not rootless—which is what one cannot say for the Jewish intellectual in America who dreads all tradition except "the tradition of the new."

Now this does not mean that we expect the Jewish-American writers to learn Hebrew or re-learn Yiddish in order to tell their poetry and prose in idioms more suitable to their themes. This is neither possible nor advisable. It is necessary, however, that they stop exploiting the Jewish-American situation for the "exotic" mileage they can get out of it, hoping by sheer dint of virtuosity—and a few well-placed dirty words — to attract attention. The time for that is past.

SOON OR LATE — and "our" young Jewish intellectual is fast passing his middle years—he will have to learn to see America clear and see it whole, not through the myopic and bloodshot eyes of prophets promising him false messiahs, prophets who have for too long misled him into accepting a vision of America which is both cruel and untrue. Surely he can now see for himself, if he would but look back a few years, that when Irving Howe told him that America held no promises for him, that "he must continue as what he is: the rootless son of a rootless people," he was being conjured to accept the devil myth of self-alienation borrowed from the horror literature of international socialism. If the Jewish intellectual is rootless, it is because he has been made so by others—himself included —not by his *people*, a people rooted in the faith of their fathers and in the traditions of millenia of suffering and joy. The rootless "tradition of the new" which is only the tradition of the *parvenu*, he got from his "friends," not his people. In a real sense he can only go forward by first looking back. For unless he knows whence he came, he will never know where he is going.

Despite some valuable insights, *Jews and Americans* is marred by an ugly little preface written by one Harry T. Moore, which for stupidity and bad taste is rivaled only by the gutter literature distributed outside Goldwater rallies during the last campaign by the American Nazi Party.



Speaking Up . . .

Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of National Review and editor of the newly published "The African Nettle", is available for debates and speaking engagements on a variety of topics foremost in the news today. Why not write Catherine Babcock for openings in Mr. Meyer's fall and winter schedule?

Any one of our accomplished, learned speakers will provide your university or club with an occasion to be well remembered and early reservations will reduce costs by enabling us to make advance travel arrangements.

Dr. Russell Kirk, author of "Fulminations of a Nocturnal Bookman" has a few openings left in his scheduled tour of the West Coast next January.

Our other prominent speakers include L. Brent Bozell, author of the forthcoming analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court entitled "The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion", William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of "The Winning Side"; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer, professor and author; Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author of "The Failure of Counterrevolution"; William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of National Review.

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Theater

How to (and Not to) Take It from There

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

IT TOOK $400,000 to mount *Baker Street* and better than half that sum to bring *Flora the Red Menace* to Broadway. What the price tag was for *The Decline and Fall of the Entire World as Seen Through the Eyes of Cole Porter,* I don't know, but not much. It offers: as orchestra, one piano, one drum; four stage props, five battered red kitchen stools; scenery, a movie screen backdrop; cast, five talented song and dance men and women—in a small off-Greenwich Village hall that seats a couple of hundred people at most, cabaret style, around small and crowded tables. Which proves? That (Hallelujah!) there is no formula as yet, no IBM-itized equation that will guaranteedly produce *x*-parts of laughter, or *y*- of enjoyment per *z*-dollars. Not on the stage, at any rate.

Take *Baker Street.* Just think what the producer had going for him. To start with, the familiar, eccentric Sherlock Holmes. If you flash a silhouette on the wall of a tall, slim figure with a deerstalker cap, a cloak, pipe, magnifying glass, everyone knows that's Sherlock Holmes—no further description needed. Mix in with that other familiar figures: rotund, sentimental Dr. Watson, a handful of Baker Street Irregulars, evil Dr. Moriarty, beautiful Miss Irene Adler, well-meaning Inspector Lastrade, anxious Mrs. Hudson, a backdrop leavening of London in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee year—and what more could one ask? Well . . . talent, imagination, humor, dramatic intensity, a book, a score, good lyrics—elements all too seldom brought together, it is true, to produce musical comedy marvels like *Kiss Me Kate, West Side Story, My Fair Lady.* But it's rare also that *none* of them is apparent in a Broadway production. *Baker Street* has one moment of glory, an incidental ten-second interlude—the magical piece of stagecraft that has Bil Baird's Marionette Grenadier Guards parading across Trafalgar Square with the Queen's gleaming silver coach. Aside from that, nothing much.

Fritz Weaver, who has proven himself from his Phoenix repertory days on, a fine versatile actor, does his best with a caricature of a part. No cerebration time allowed this Sherlock Holmes, he's a man of action. Poor Watson is so elementary that the "real" Holmes would have suffered him not a single minute. The Baker Street Irregulars look for all the world like Beatles who have not made good. Inga Swenson (the amorous Miss Irene Adler) is monumentally inept, and on stage *all* the time—or maybe it only seems that way. I might have enjoyed Dr. Moriarty (Martin Gabel) given the time, but the script allowed him only a dozen minutes to make his mark. To cap the disaster there was only one song—*What a Night This is Going to Be*—you could remember (by a distinct act of will) a minute after regaining the pavement; of suspense there was none and the humor (brace yourself) was of this order: at Dr. Moriarty's bogus funeral one of his henchmen is presented with a "posthumorous" award. (Get it? Jab-jab in the side. Haw, Haw. Capital my dear fellow . . . and all of that.)

Flora, the Red Menace blew into town a few weeks ago, a late arrival in a season of financial and artistic disasters musically. It was the Broadway debut of Liza Minnelli, Judy Garland's nineteen-year-old daughter, and, as such, eagerly awaited by all Judyphiles. They can rest easy: Liza takes after her Ma. She's got the same wide mouth and expressive eyes, the same awkward, but attractive, gestures, a look at times so typical that you catch yourself thinking, this is the young Judy. And she can belt out a song with the best of them. Not so hot yet on the *Over the Rainbow* types, but alive, bright and swinging in the belt-'em-outs, sock-'em-outs.

Flora opens fast, solid and entrancingly. It's the Depression. Flora has just graduated from commercial

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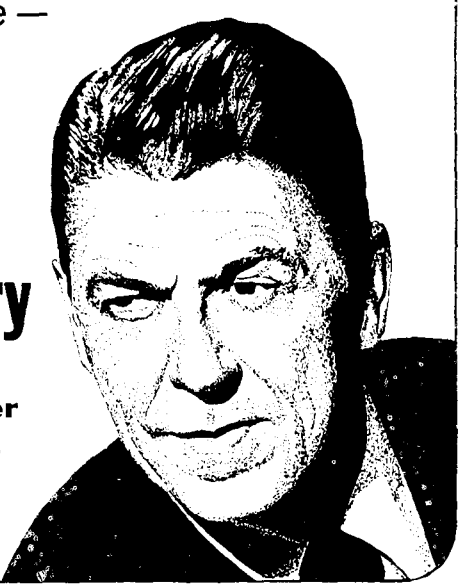

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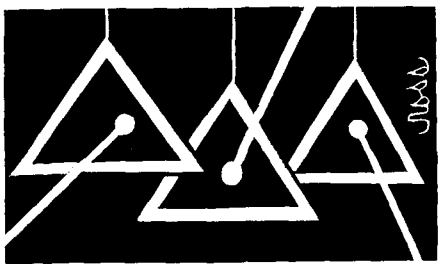
art school, but jobs are not to be had. *All I need,* she sings, *is One Good Break.* And that song is as good as any to break in with. The audience loves it. It's a period when the Communist Party is active—recruiting generations of high school and college graduates, infiltrating the campuses, the trade unions and the government. But Flora is not a play-of-social-significance. The comrades are as one-dimensional and as harmless as in *Ninotchka.* Hell, they even recruit Flora into the Party and no revolution-bent Communist in his right mind would do that.

The recruitment, by Flora's bashful, stuttering fella, Harry, is carried out in an inspired rendition of the song, *Sign Here.* It unreels like *Old McDonald (If you want milk and crackers for the children. . . . cookies for the kids, Sign Here. . . . If you're for Democracy. . . . the rights of man . . . lasting peace . . . the wave of change . . . no unemployment . . . peace in our time, Sign Here, You're a Communist.)* The score by John Kander is good and the lyrics by Fred Ebb even better. At Flora's first cell meeting, the lyricist gives Mary Louise Wilson (Comrade Ada) every opportunity in the world with a show-stopper called *The Flame*—her report of her week's activities to the assembled comrades—and she justifies the confidence. Miss Wilson scores again in the second act with a clever love song built around Knock-Knocks. (*Saddle . . .* saddle who? *Saddle down and be my bride. Picasso . . .* Picasso who? *Picasso you there's stardust in my eye,* etc.). Talented fellow, this Fred Ebb.

And now it must be said. After the first couple of scenes, *Flora, the Red Menace* starts to lose steam, like an old-fashioned wind-up phonograph. There are good moments here and there; but the dramatic impetus gets lost, and not all the trying in the world by Liza Minnelli, Bob Dishy (Harry) and Miss Wilson can bring it back into focus. This doesn't often



happen to George Abbott productions. It's too bad it happened to this one.

WHICH BRINGS us to the Cole Porter review at the Square East (just off Washington Square). That's the show to see, particularly if you're old enough to get the references of the twenties, thirties and forties that are sprinkled throughout: Clifford Odets, Monty Woolley, Rudy Vallee, Elsa Maxwell, Lady Astor, Grover Whalen, Flagstad, the Chrysler Building, and some earlier figures (*Cleopatra, that glamorous empire shatra*) figure prominently in the Porter lyrics. Ben Bagley, a Porter aficionado for many years, has woven together a nostalgic review of the master's lesser-known works: eschewing the hundreds of songs we all connect with Cole Porter (except for a final medley), Bagley went back through the years and culled a score or more ditties from shows that didn't make it; songs cut out of successful shows; songs Porter wrote for a musical that was never filmed. And every one is the top. What a tunesmith Cole Porter was: those internal rhymes, the unexpected juxtaposition of rhythm and verse; the irony, the jolting historical references, the humor—above all the humor.

Kaye Ballard, a wide-mouthed, floppy-banged comédienne of a high order, heads a talented cast of five young men and women—all good. She, Carmen Alvarez, and Elmarie Wendel do an imitation of the Andrews Sisters that would have had them rolling in the aisles had there been any aisles to roll in. Miss Ballard's take-offs of Sophie Tucker and Bea Lillie are masterly and her *Tale of the* [social climbing] *Oyster* would be worth catching if it were the only song of the show. Having traveled from Oyster Bay to a high class restaurant to the gilded insides of Mrs. Hauckenheimer, been upchucked and returned to the waters of Oyster Bay, the little Oyster philosophically concludes: *"For I've had a taste of society—and society has had a taste of me."*

I'm Throwing a Ball, Red, Hot and Blue, But in the Morning, No! By the Mississiniwah, I'm a Gigolo—this may be your last chance to hear them performed as they should be performed. Don't miss it! It is both the Colosseum and the Louvre Museum.

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THE AMBASSADOR, by Morris L. West (Morrow, $4.95). When is a novel not a novel? When, as in this book, it strives to recast in fictional form a bitterly disputed historical incident less than eighteen months after the event itself. In this case, the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam. *The Ambassador* opens a few months before the assassination, when Ambassador Maxwell Amberley (note the distinguished name), a cool-headed State Department trouble-

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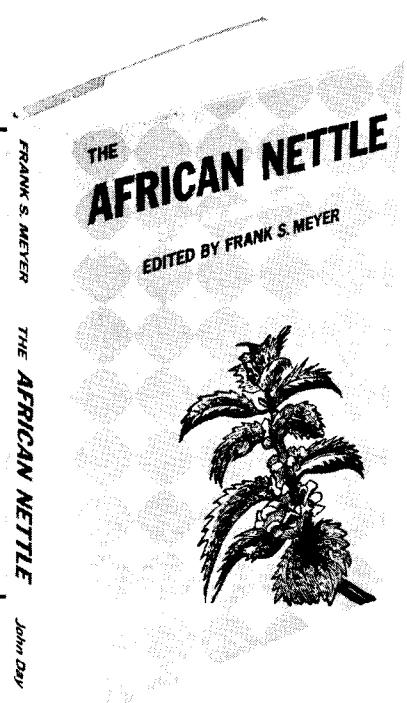

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shooter, is ordered to Saigon. He is to decide whether the United States should continue to support the autocratic regime of the Catholic bachelor President Phung Van Cung. And if not, how Cung is to be deposed and by which Vietnamese generals. The events of the spring, summer and fall of 1963 are recapitulated in exact detail. The firing on the Hué demonstrators in May, the world uproar over the Buddhist persecutions, the immolation of the monks, increased Vietcong military pressure, student demonstrations, U.S. sanctions, the attack on the Palace, the murder. To be sure there are fictional interpolations: what novelist could resist them? So it is that the Ambassador gives the conspirators the go-ahead publicly at a presidential banquet in the form of a toast to the president. And Cung (who comes through, incidentally, as the only sympathetic figure in the book) responds by making Amberley a gift of a beautiful Douai Bible with the passage from St. Luke marked: "And Jesus said to him: Judas dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" For anyone interested in the drama of Nov. 1, 1963, in Saigon, *The Ambassador* is compelling reading. But precisely because it hews so closely to the real-life drama, it is a failure as a novel. Each reader will have decided before opening page one, because of his own bias, who are to be the Good Guys and who the Bad.

P. L. BUCKLEY

RED STAR OVER AFRICA, by Anthony Harrigan (Bookmailer, $2.10). Fact. Quip. Fact. Fact. Analogy. Fact: *Lesson*. . . . So goes Mr. Harrigan's straightforward but absorbing, hundred-page study of the massive crisis now gripping the African continent. The case of much-maligned South Africa (whose white inhabitants seem a splendid crossbreed of West European and Californian strains) is first studied in detail, then the author presents an almost-up-to-date *Who's Who* of African nations (and nationlets, whose politics seem akin to those found in *Black Mischief*), emphasis being placed on the varieties of Communist activity in each. Following after the novel and intriguing chapters on possible Indian and Chinese designs in the Afro-Asian theatre, are forty pages of professional, concise geopolitical analysis and speculation. Because informed study and debate of geopolitics—what the Cold War is *factually* all about—has become a vestigial function of the communications and educational organs of the West, these pages alone recommend this excellent primer.

J. G. CAMPAIGNE JR.

A NATION WITHOUT COINS, by Charles R. Robinson and Charles B. Young (Vantage, $3.95). If my calculations are correct, we'll be at the bottom of the silver barrel within a few months. So a book of any calibre published now on the matter is a feat of derring-do at the very least. These two young men, who tossed off this pamphlet along the way towards an advanced degree, get A for action, and have done a fine job on the intricate question of supply and demand in the world silver markets. But their historical sketch is grievously inadequate- (any historical account is inadequate which ignores the methods Roosevelt and Morgenthau used to force China off the silver standard, and onto fiat currency, in 1935); their logic falls in utter confusion at times; their editing is reckless (Gresham's Law turns into Graham's Law); their courage appears to be unworldly (they think they have refuted Gresham, citing instances that openly confirm him); and their recommendations are a poker-faced re-hash of the old FDR stuff: nationalize silver, slap a special tax on silver trading, require export licenses, make it a crime to hoard or melt the coin, and so on. In their winsome effort to find a substitute for silver, which Lord knows don't we need one though, these two lads pass over gold with the regurgitated Keynesianism that it's a "hangover." Hangover let it be, a hangover you can trade for breakfast in any city of the world; and if gold is so "unimportant," then why does the Federal Government struggle so mightily to monopolize it?

W. F. RICKENBACKER

JFK-LBJ

(Continued from p. 554)

multiple cars and mansions and yet never stray from his society's belief that cars and mansions are strokes of good fortune, are happy accidents reserved for a lucky few; and when he falls from whatever heights he has reached he doesn't fall out of but back into his society: a society that accepts a bowl of rice and a piece of fish as the normal standard of living. But in a society like the American's, where cars and TV sets and washing machines are regarded, not as strokes of good fortune, not as happy accidents, but as the normal equipment of life, as necessities, anyone who ceases to be able to afford them (and they cost a damnable lot) can be kept within American society only with government aid and relief.

The strain must be terrific and is notoriously attended by ulcers, tranquilizers, a need for alcohol, a high divorce rate, and an increasing number of deliberate "outsiders"—the bearded folk of the proliferating American Bohemias, who have come to doubt that "the means to buy the good things of life" are worth all the effort when the good things of life mostly mean a thousand different brands of dental cream or breakfast food to choose from.

With all of the innovations of the New Frontiers and Great Societys America remains curiously the same: the melting pot still boils, the alchemy still works, and the land that has housed so many nations is still the world's frontier, mankind's common home. The individual American seems to act from a consciousness of his country's role in history. The American family opens its home to the visitor in a gesture that transcends mere hospitality; the American housewife takes time off from kitchen and nursery to take the stranger on a tour of her town, as though she felt she owed this to him. Anybody who thinks the Americans do this because they want to be loved learns in wonder and contrition that they do it because they love.

This good will is what the traveler in America finds himself still carrying as he unfastens the seat belt for the last time and disembarks on native soil.

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 532)

here. Some of it caused some productive discussions. We're grateful for it.

St. Petersburg, Fla. RICHARD F. HILL

Aggiornamento Sí, NR No

Garry Wills' essay on the Catholic Church [May 4] was masterful, a keenly perceptive piece of writing. Many of us who are *politically* conservative find ourselves in the camp of the so-called Liberals in matters of theology and Church policy. Only Mr. Wills seems to be at all aware of this phenomenon and the very cogent reasons for it.

"The old order changeth and yieldeth place to the new, and God fulfills Himself in many ways. . . ."

REV. ROBERT E. CARSON, O. Pream.

De Pere, Wis.

Mr. Wilhelmsen [May 4] is quite wrong in asserting that I have no use for natural law; in what I take to be its most authentic version (Aquinas as understood in the light of the historical researches of Lottin and Lonergan) I defend it, have done so in print, and wrote nothing in the essay in question to deny it.

Congratulations and esteem are due to Garry Wills, however, who in an issue marked by hysteria unworthy of the importance of a genuine conservatism, described very well the conservative nature of the *aggiornamento*. Mr. Wills is one of the most valuable links between those who write for your magazine and the rest of the world. He tries to understand those with whom he differs, is sometimes willing to learn from them, and sometimes admits his own limitations and uncertainties.

Since a more intelligent mode of discourse between Liberals and conservatives in this country—in politics, economics, and religion—is one of the most important tasks of the future, the many efforts being made by Mr. Wills, almost alone it appears, deserve commendation.

MICHAEL NOVAK

Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University

Why should Mr. Herberg think that the spirit of *aggiornamento* runs directly counter to the Church's true vocation, *i.e.*, the sanctification of men? Why, for Heaven's sake, does he call for the Church to stand firmly against the "*Zeitgeist*" of the modern world? The actions of Gregory VII are not to the point, since political involvement is not the issue here. But then, what of the actions of Pio Nono, who vigorously opposed the huge moral edifice of the Catholic Church against the spirit of the nineteenth century?

The answer, I believe, is that just as with an individual the Church said then to the modern world, "These are what I condemn in you, your worship of the idols of money and power, your destruction of ethics in conduct and in your various philosophies, your extreme reverence for the political, which has led to almost constant war." But then the Church would say, as she says now, "And this is why I love you, your passion for justice, your concern for the poor and the oppresed, your sincere and passionate search for truth in all of God's works, your longing for true peace and happiness."

In short, the Church's primary stake, whether in opposing or placating the *Zeitgeist*, is the practical end of sanctifying men.

New York, N.Y. JOHN C. CAIZZA

Mr. Herberg confesses that the bitter medicine Pius IX prescribed a century ago for ultra-Liberals proved salutary and necessary. We would do well to meditate on the possibility, and even probability, of today's medicine being also "good for what ails us." And let us hope and pray that if it took the Liberals a century to understand its truth and value, conservatives will see the light, and acknowledge it, much quicker.

NAME WITHHELD BY REQUEST

Los Angeles, Calif.

Honestly! The Latinists certainly die hard! Did Christ teach the good news of salvation in a supra-national/cultural medium? Hardly. His message came in a very narrowly constructed ethnic group; it did not, however, remain in that medium but was adapted (language-wise) as the need was felt. The Church has failed in her mission in her long history whenever she has tried to impose a Western European Latin culture (including language) on peoples whose culture is foreign to this one. The case of DeRicci and his attempt to teach the message of Christ to the Orient in their own idiom was squelched by the Roman Curia who equated the Christian message with Roman-style Christianity.

Brooklyn, N.Y. BROTHER VENARD, C.F.X.

A certain amount of asininity seems to be creeping into the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW in recent weeks, but, for sheer pathos, your May 4 issue, dealing with Catholic *aggiornamento,* beats all. Alice-Leone Moats and Garry Wills may be commended for at least readable articles, but, as for the others—shades of the *Syllabus of Errors!*

Until a very short time ago conservatism and Catholicism were practically synonymous. "Liberal Catholics" were a minority group who read suspicious magazines like *Commonweal,* admired Adlai Stevenson, and believed that more than vague, general episcopal statements were required for Catholics to begin to take the race problem seriously. Suddenly all has changed. Right-wing conservatism is no longer part of the "Catholic Way," and those wild-eyed anarchists, the Catholic Liberals, have become not only respectable, but somewhat predominant. A simple explanation would be to ascribe all of this to the machinations of that wily old leftist, John XXIII. But this explanation, unfortunately, will not suffice. The fact of the matter is that truly fundamental changes have come about since John's death and the accession of his successor, Paul VI.

And this, I think, is what causes all the ferment. This is the real reason why Messrs. Herberg, Molnar and Bozell cry and wring their hands over the passing of the good old days, the ascent of Liberalism in the Church, and the long-delayed tributes now being paid to that "enemy of the Faith," Teilhard de Chardin. This is why Frederick Wilhelmsen pens a whining, adolescent, name-calling, anti-intellectual "review" of *The Generation of the Third Eye*—really an attempt to slur those whose comprehension of reality is more advanced than his own. Somebody ought to tell Wilhelmsen why Cuba was not mentioned in the book—namely, because the book was not written about Cuba. And perhaps one might similarly wonder why Selma gets such scant treatment in NATIONAL REVIEW, except to defend the police officials there who club and murder Negro citizens for daring to claim openly their legal right to vote.

Wilmington, Del. JAMES P. WARD

Pax vobiscum. —ED.

Earthling

While I am quite aware of religion and the people of (around?) God, could we have a little less of Heaven and more of Earth?

Claremont, Calif. TIBOR R. MACHAN

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (June 15)

[Lewis L.] STRAUSS

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Moral indignation expressed through the ballot is not a dependable means of eliminating elected officials whose standards have proved unequal to the temptations they encounter. This loss of critical capacity becomes conspicuous during elections.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. When a certain fruit tree begins to bloom (3 wds.)	31 13 70 106 121 82 138 149 174 186 197 / 9 210 145 165 37
B. Hindustani for 100,000 (one of two forms)	52 77 161 98
C. These are smiling on March 17th (2 wds.)	64 67 162 126 136 4 117 34 148
D. Anything light and worthless	92 154 178 127 150
E. Motto of N. Y. State in English; applicable to its budget (2 wds.)	99 41 68 129 32 205 73 191 160 168
F. North Dakota's state flower (3 wds.)	158 47 169 207 110 122 143 125 182 25 3 / 61 208 89 91
G. Easily prepared beverage (2 wds.)	166 48 199 6 155 72 35 30 14 140 184 / 137 176
H. Type of violet.	180 15 27 50 112 128 56 36
I. Understanding	185 179 97 8 190 88 170
J. What "a thing of beauty . . . will never pass into."	198 18 115 39 204 78 49 163 10 95 142
K. One who makes much of the sense of the beautiful	202 134 79 57 20 119 42
L. With Word O, descriptive of garments hung out to dry (3 wds.)	7 22 177 58 187 74 156 96 195 141 167
M. What Samuel F. B. Morse swore by	81 101 175 120 60 196
N. Looks forward to	83 5 181 80 171 23 123
O. See Word L (3 wds.)	144 139 159 172 194 130 54 93 102 107 28 / 192 71 206
P. That which causes one to shrink with shuddering from	173 90 2 189 76 111 29 84 65 103
Q. Type of brain operation	17 51 105 183 108 44 124 12
R. To circulate money or currency	131 1 151 85 63
S. Far from (2 wds.)	40 203 104 38 53 86 113
T. Murder as formerly practiced by certain Hindoos	45 66 94 147 164 55 75 62
U. Wyoming's state flower (2 wds.)	114 53 157 188 200 26 193 69 87 132 135 / 116 216 209 19 24
V. Candy bar which suggests famous author (2 wds.)	118 46 152 133 146 201 100
W. Certain statutes of Justinian, subsequent to his Code	21 109 59 153 11 33

See page 565 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

■	■	■	1 R	2 P	3 F	■	4 C	5 N	6 G	7 L	8 I	9 A	10 J	11 W	12 Q	■
13 A	14 G	15 H	16 U	■	17 Q	18 J	19 U	20 K	■	21 W	22 L	23 N	24 U	25 F	26 U	27 H
■	28 O	29 P	30 G	31 A	32 E	33 W	34 C	■	35 G	36 H	37 A	38 S	■	39 J	40 S	41 E
42 K	■	43 U	44 Q	45 T	46 V	47 F	48 C	49 J	■	50 H	51 Q	■	52 B	53 S	54 O	55 T
■	56 H	57 K	58 L	■	59 W	60 M	61 F	62 T	■	63 R	64 C	65 P	66 T	■	67 C	68 E
69 U	70 A	■	71 O	72 G	73 E	74 L	75 T	76 P	77 B	78 J	79 K	80 N	81 M	■	82 A	83 N
84 P	85 R	86 S	87 U	88 I	89 F	■	90 P	91 F	92 D	93 O	94 T	95 J	96 L	■	97 I	98 B
99 E	100V	■	101M	102O	103P	■	104S	105Q	106A	107O	■	108Q	109W	■	110F	111P
112H	113S	114U	115J	■	116U	117C	■	118V	119K	120M	121A	122F	123N	■	124Q	125F
126C	127D	128H	129E	130O	131R	132U	133V	134K	■	135U	136C	137G	■	138A	139O	140G
141L	■	142J	143F	144O	145A	146V	147T	148C	■	149A	150D	■	151R	152V	153W	■
154D	155G	156L	157U	158F	159O	160E	161B	162C	163J	164T	■	165A	166G	167L	168E	169F
170I	■	171N	172O	173P	174A	175M	176G	177L	■	178D	179I	180H	■	181N	182F	183Q
184G	185I	186A	187L	188U	189P	190I	191E	192O	■	193U	194O	195L	196M	197A	198J	199G
■	200U	201V	202K	■	203S	204J	205E	206O	207F	■	208F	209U	210A	■	■	■

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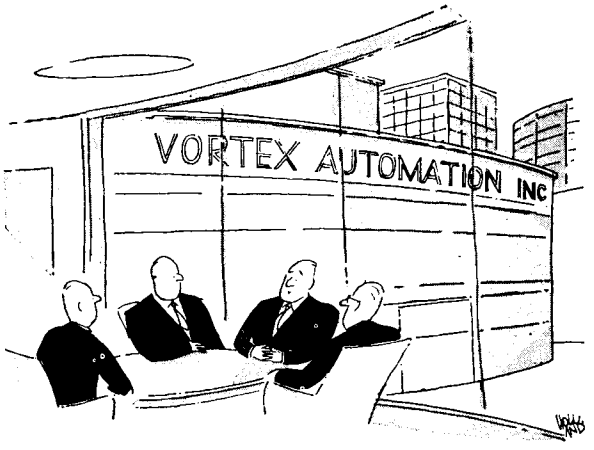
For The Record

Conor Cruise O'Brien, former Chancellor of University of Ghana and chief of UN Crush-Katanga operation, appointed to Albert Schweitzer Chair in Humanities at New York University. Schweitzer supported Tshombe against UN. . . . Ghana, longtime haven for political refugees seeking overthrow of other African governments, forced to pledge 1) expulsion of trouble-makers (such as SAWABA terrorists who attempted assassination of president of Niger—NR, June 15) plus 2) acceptance of inspection team from Organization of African Unity. Concessions spearheaded by French-speaking member states threatening to boycott OAU September summit in Accra. . . . Teach-ins on U.S. policy in Vietnam now popular in Britain, with Labor Left denouncing "American war against Asians." . . . British troops fighting Sukarno's guerrillas in Borneo now capturing Red China-made arms. . . . In early planning stages: worldwide campaign to recruit international volunteers from "friendly countries" to aid Vietcong in retaliation against new U.S. combat moves.

Rep. Gerald Ford's Portrait of an Assassin, depicting Marina Oswald as heartless and shrewd (she deceived friends, was nasty to Lee, withheld info from Warren Commission), to be followed by Marina's Own Story. . . . Eyebrows Up: June 20 Brooklyn rally in support of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party announces—on flyer headed "Hanoi and Hattiesburg—There Is a Connection"—speakers list including (among regulars Wm. Fitts Ryan, Nathan Schwerner, Fannie Lou Hamer and Dick Gregory) John Lindsay. . . . Californians noting possibility of interlocking professional direction (by top-rated pr firm Spencer, Roberts & Assoc.) in campaign of Ronald Reagan for Gov. and Robert Finch for Lt. Gov. Finch is Nixon's right hand. . . . FCC turned down demand by Madalyn Murray, rampaging Baltimore atheist, for free time on 15 Hawaii radio stations. Mad is in Honolulu fighting court orders that she be returned to Maryland to face assault charges.

Mystery surrounding Ernesto (Che) Guevara's four-month disappearance from public view not dispelled by official assurances he has been "ill" and will soon resume duties in Castro government. . . . Prodded to take larger role in Dominican issue: U Thant. Prodder: the delegate from France. . . . Communist Chinese Ambassador Wang Kuo-chang, interviewed in Warsaw, poohpoohed seriousness of USSR-Red China rift: "There can be differences among allies. Look at the United States' relations with its allies today." . . . Congressional pressure forced withdrawal by State Dept. and Civil Service Commission of compulsory psychological tests, subjecting applicants to questioning on religion, sex, personal philosophy, etc. . . . Samuel Shenton, president of Flat Earth Society, contends photographs taken by Gemini 4 "prove the earth is shaped like a plate."



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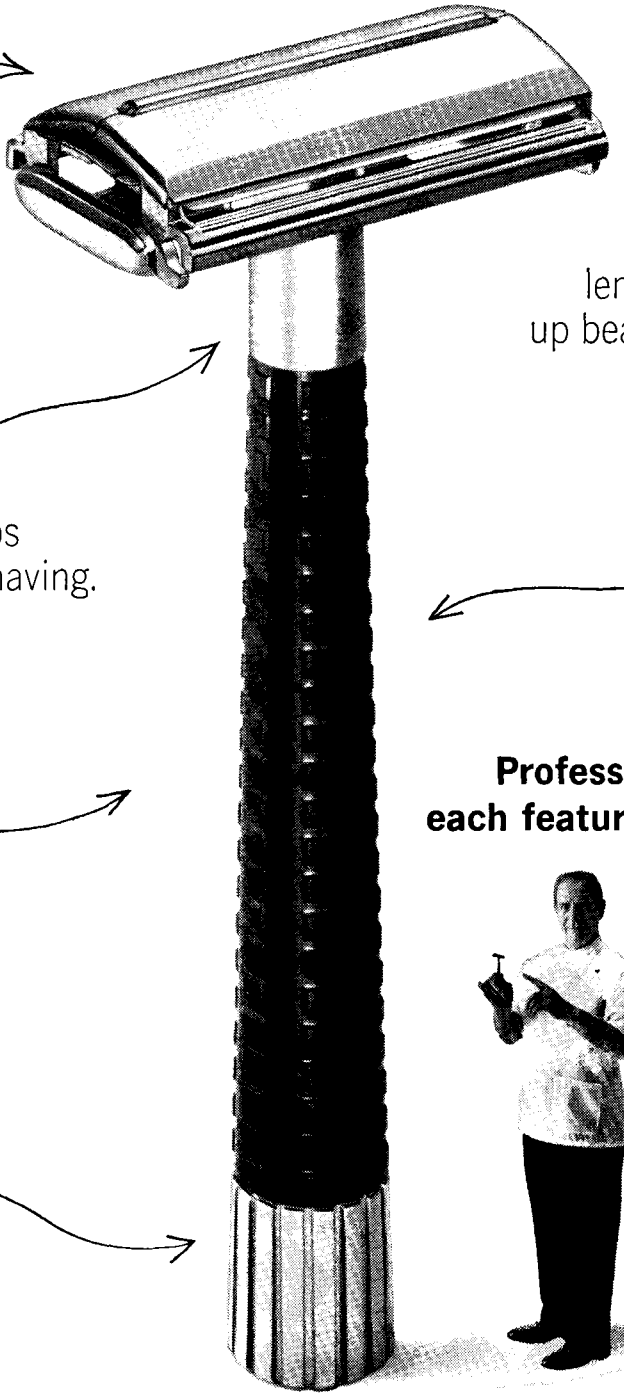

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